Daily Report

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Berisha Denies Remarks Alleged Regarding Macedonia

AU1212174092 Tirana ATA in English 1204 GMT 12 Dec 92

["Confutation of the Spokesman of the President of the Republic"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, December 12 (ATA)—A confutation of the spokesman of the president of the republic says:

Commenting on the article by James Pettifer published on December 9, 1992 in THE TIMES, the spokesman of the president states that President Berisha has never expressed himself in favour of opening borders with Macedonia and solving in this way the all-Albanian question. The Albanian president has always expressed himself in favour of independence and stability of this republic and for the integration of the Albanian community in it. And the announcement by this reporter on troops' deployment in the northern border is also completely baseless.

Berisha, Gligorov Meet at Macedonian Border

AU1412113492 Tirana ATA in English 0923 GMT 14 Dec 92

["Mutual Readiness To Develop Relations of Cooperation Between the Republic of Albania and Macedonia—Presidents Berisha and Gligorov Attend the Innaugural Ceremony of the Border Point of Tushemisht"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, December 14 (ATA)—The three customs centers of the border points between Macedonia and Albania, that of Bllata, Gorica, and Tushemisht, opened on December 13. The presidents of the two countries, Sali Berisha and Kiro Gligorov attended this ceremony in Tushemisht.

In the Macedonian border point, Mr.Berisha answered some questions of the reporters on the goals of his policy. He reiterated that "Our policy has been and is for friendship, cooperation, and understanding with all the neighbours. We will follow this road with Greece, Slovenia, Montenegro, Macedonia. We will certainly do the same with Serbia when it will become a genuine democratic country amidst the other countries of the region. We have no prejudice for this, because the whole region is experiencing the process of integration, which we value very important.

President Sali Berisha, escorted by Kiro Gligorov, visited the Saint Naum church and then went to a villa in the vicinity of Ohrid. There he had negotiations with Mr. Gligorov. After the negotiations the two presidents made statements for the reporters. Mr. Berisha said "The opening of border points was significant, but of greater importance will be the opening of other points, which will guarantee the free movement between our two countries. Negotiations with Mr. President were very significant. We agreed that all the democratic governments and forces in the Balkans should cooperate and synchronize their endeavours to settle the conflict in Bosnia and prevent its extension. This should be of first priority in all our activity. The dominant idea of these negotiations was that no separate alliances but full Balkan cooperation is the road to be followed by all the Balkan political forces and governments. We drew a balance of the relations between the two countries and expressed our pleasure over the ongoing development and decided to hold the other meeting after concrete results. In this meeting the Albanian party expressed its firm attitude that the independence and stability of Macedonia is to the interest of Macedonia, Albania and the whole region. It also expressed its attitude that in the endeavours for another Albania and the Balkans, no one demands a change of borders or their modification. We also insisted that the Albanians should work with patience and devotion for a democratic society in the country where they live. They should be realistic that the problems accumulated during a century cannot be settled in some weeks or months.

But they should not stop endeavouring to win the confidence of all those they live with. Naturally the Albanian Government insists that the relations between the two countries, the opening of Skopje university would be a very significant event, which has to do with the right of the Albanians' schooling and the possibility of their complete integration to all the structures of Macedonian state, that is to render their contribution to the stability and progress of this state .

Then we discussed the fresh opportunities of cooperation in the economic field and that of transportation in particular. Both parties agreed to facilitate and favour one another. The question of the stationing of UN troops in Macedonia took a significant place. We hail this act of the Macedonian Government and UNO just as we hail every act which contributes to the stability and the independence of Macedonia. We judge as misunderstanding the decision to station troops in the border with Albania at a time when both parties fully agree that there is no mutual danger on both sides of the border.

During the negotiations we also discussed on events in Skopje. We express our profound regret for the victims. Naturally we [are] not pleased with the fact that the Albanians were the victims and defendants of tragic event. We are pleased that in the final analysis, the Macedonian Government identifies the real authors. Certainly they are people who have prepared a scenario directed against the Albanians and Macedonians. In this regard I would like to judge right and reasonable the attitude of the Albanian political forces of Macedonia, which contributed to the restriction of the conflict.

Finally we agreed with Gligogov to increase cooperation and information and I notice that we are heading to the development of very good relations between the two countries. Albania will soon open its representation in Skopje.

The president of Macedonia, Mr.Kiro Gligorov made the following statement to the reporters on the results of negotiations with the Albanian president, Sali Berisha: "As two neighbouring states we need to develop mutual relations. First of all we agreed for the maintenance of peace and on the other hand will help create a zone of peace in the region and develop cooperation amongst the democratic states. There are all chances for the success of these initiatives of mutual interest. Above all we are two neighbours who love one another and settle all the problems by dialogue and understanding, which leads to the strengthening of the relations of the two countries and peoples. I noticed this concern in the first meeting with him. We will not give up this road despite the difficulties we currently come across. Our party has declared that it is ready to establish democratic and parliamentary institutions and develop dialogue to solve all the problems emerging from the character of our state and its composition. Proceeding from the principle of the observation of human rights of all the nations of our republic and the right for equality in this direction, I do not think that there are such problems which cannot be solved by means of dialogue. Our party also declared that for the genuine observation of these rights, it is necessary that the Macedonians residing in Albania enjoy the rights as all the others.

We aired our conviction that it is good if Albania recognize the Republic of Macedonia as soon as possible. I hail everything expressed by President Berisha in regard to the sovereignty and integrity of the borders. Confidence and cooperation will increase in the future in case our close neighbour recognizes the Republic of Macedonia. We also expressed our common desire that the event in the bazaar of Skopje never take place again. The two parties will work to settle their problems by peaceful methods. Regarding the interethnic disagreements I observed with great pleasure that the events in the bazaar of Skopje was provoked by those who do not wish good relations between Albania and Macedonia. I think that the future for more intensive relations owing to the opening of the Albanian representation in Skopje will be more reliable. We are open for cooperation with Albania at all the economic levels. Our connection with the Durres sea port and the construction of roads will be our common aim and we all strive to create more reliable opportunities for cooperation between the economies of the two countries. Albania poses no danger to the Republic of Macedonia, on the contrary it is a source of security for it and I think that it [is] quite clear that the Republic of Macedonia poses no danger to the Republic of Albania. At the moment of the tense situation in the Balkans, we are doing our best to restrain the conflict in Bosnia and defend our peoples from such a danger."

The negotiations being over, President Grigorov gave a dinner for President Berisha and the delegation escorting him at the Metropol Hotel.

Deputies Interrogate Meksi on Government Problems

AU1112175492 Tirana ATA in English 0952 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 11 (ATA)—On December 10 before noon the People's Assembly discussed the draft law for appointing the commission charged with issuing licenses to practice the profession of advocacy and a change to the existing Law on Advocacy. The Chairman of the Commission of Laws Zef Brozi explained that together with a group of deputies they took the initiative for some changes to the respective law in order to pave the road to the reform in the organs of justice and to prevent every attorney from working in these organs.

The parliamentary group of the Socialist Party opposed this draft law, stressing that it endeavours for political solutions. They also demanded not to discuss the draft but to wait until the complete law on this problem be submitted.

Other deputies, considering the draft, said that it should be followed by changes to the Law on Attorney's and Investigation Offices. What should be decisive is the professional criterion. This draft was voted on and endorsed by majority of ballots. The socialist group was against it.

According to this draft law, ex-senior party and state officials in the center and districts, officers of ex-State Security, and all those persons who have graduated the Party School are not allowed to practice the profession of a lawyer.

An interpellation with the Premier Meksi on problems of local power was organised in the afternoon at the People's Assembly. Responding to the questions by the deputies of the socialist parliamentary group, Mr. Meksi explained since the beginning that in order to implement the reform in the local power structures the government set up a working group. The latter, in cooperation also with foreign specialists, organized seminars and consultations to compile the respective law. The main principle of the approved law is that of the local autonomy and self-administration. But it is understood that in the conditions of lack of experience, the local power cannot be raised and function perfectly within so short a while. The government is making efforts to improve the Law on the Local Power Structures and make this power fully efficient.

The premier responded to about 25 questions dealing with the competences of the local power, their independence from the central structures, the allocation of the asset amongst the municipalities, districts, and communes, the creation of departments on certain problems in the districts, problems on the budget, the nomination of the committees' secretaries, etc.

Responding to these questions, Mr. Meksi said: I don't think the local power structures are frozen, despite the shortcomings noticed. We are working to further

improve them organizing regional and national seminars on these problems. He explained that there is a general tendency towards decentralization and not centralization of competences. Any shortcoming noticed can be explained with the lack of experience and difficulties of transition. To the question about the swelling of the state administration with the creation of the departments on education, health, agriculture, etc., in the districts, Mr. Meksi said that with the beginning of the administrative reform the state administration has been perceptibly reduced. Whereas these departments have been created also based on the practice of many other democratic countries. In continuation the premier explained that the government has been working to specify the allocation of the budget according to the districts, municipalities, and communes.

Following the answers by the premier the deputies who had put questions made their remarks. They said that the government centralized the state and frozen the local power to facilitate governing. Many instructions and decisions have been issued which run counter to the law. The paralyse of the local power structures has been due to the nonsharing of the competences. The government assumes competences which previously it did not have.

They say that land has been divided in about 90 percent of the area. This is not true. The economic reform cannot be attained without the cooperation of the central state power with the local one. Other socialist deputies were not satisfied with the replies of Premier Meksi. They says that they expected to get more information on the perspective of the problems raised there.

In closing Premier Meksi took the floor. He said once again that there is no freezing of local state power. The government is endeavouring to take full advantage of this power and improve as soon as possible the law related to it. He also explained that the government is working for the budget on the basis of concrete current possibilities. He called for solving the problems on people's will without political prejudices.

The People's Assembly will convene on Monday, December 14.

Council Rules on Labor Laws, Other Measures

AU1212173892 Tirana ATA in English
1105 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 12 (ATA)—Arben Cejku, ATA journalist reports: In order to give a fresh impulse to the economic reform also in legislation, the Council of Ministers, presided over by the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Aleksander Meksi, examined and approved some important draft decisions. The draft laws on the labour collective contracts and the saplings and seeds were approved.

This meeting of the Council of Ministers also approved a series of draft decisions presented by the respective ministries. It approved the draft decision to define the distinguished symbol of the head of the commune and the mayor as well as the extent of remuneration for the members of the district council, municipality, commune and village dignitary.

It decided that for the winter period the retail sale price of the electrict energy increases according to the extent of consummation.

Through the approval of the draft decision on the state and private criteria and competences in the field of standardization and quality, the unified qualitative index on the raw materials, ready-made products and services should be defined.

In order to respond to the situation created, due to the use of intoxicated alcoholic drinks, which are causing victims every day, the Council of Ministers, upon the proposal of the Ministry of Health, through the approval of the respective draft decision, suspends licenses for the local and foreign private physical and juridical persons, engaged in the production of the food products until they are newly equipped with them according to the provisions of the approved draft decision.

Democratic Alliance, Socialist Party Members Meet

AU1212213192 Tirana ATA in English
1310 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 11 (ATA)—In the context of the meetings of the Party of Democratic Alliance with the parliamentary parties of Democratic Party and Social Democratic Party, on December 10 a meeting was held in Tirana upon the request of this party, the spokesman of the Albanian Socialist Party reports. The meeting was devoted to the situation at home and the two parties expressed their views.

The spokesman of the Socialist Party underlines in a press communique that the two parties, despite the respective political position, expressed their determination to defend the rule of law as one of the basic foundations of the democratic society being established in Albania. The two parties upheld that it is not up to the parliament to settle the problem raised by the parliamentary group of the Democratic Party for the ousting of six deputies from the parliament. They also said that it runs counter to the Constitution and Law on Elections. They also said that the violation of legitimacy of March 22 elections on the part of the Democratic Party would be dangerous to the rule of law, the democratic image of Albania and the Democratic Party in Europe, and the political stability of the country.

The communique stresses that the bilateral and multilateral meetings of the political parties and particularly those represented in the parliament have a positive impact on the political developments of the country and should be a constant of the Albanian political democratic life.

Production Reportedly Increased; Situation Changed

AU1212173092 Tirana ATA in English 1006 GMT 12 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 12 (ATA)—The April of this year found the Albanian industry in a catastrophic situation. The production of crude oil, natural gas, chrome, copper, coal, hosiery [as received], and azotic fertilizers had decreased from 40 to 100 percent as against the same period of 1991. Out of 442 enterprises under the Ministry of Industry, Mining, and Energy 120 were suspended, 197 partly operated, and 105 were active. More than 136,000 working people got 80 percent of the wage while staying at home.

This situation has now changed, despite the great troubles the industry is still faced with, especially the inner debt which is also suffocating competitive production enterprises and branches. However, the drastic fall of production could be stopped and in the third three-month period there is an increase as against the first three months. The crude oil production has increased 5.4 percent, of gas 6.7 percent, oil processing 20 percent, chrome 18.2 percent, chrome concentrate 1.5 percent, copper ore 85 percent, ferrochrome 12.7 percent, etc. The number of the enterprises active has increased by 80 and that of the suspended ones has reduced to nearly 30.

Greek Army Provides Assistance in Logistics

AU1112165892 Tirana ATA in English 1121 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 11 (ATA)—A spokesman of the Ministry of Defence reports that in the context of relations and cooperation between the Albanian and Greek Armies after the signing of the joint agreement in the military field, the Greek Army provided the Albanian Army with an aid consisting of different clothes.

This aid in the field of logistics testifies to the work done to implement the joint agreement and further strengthen the relations between our two armies of the neighbouring countries, the spokesman underlined.

First Neo-Nazi Group Reportedly Created in Tirana

AU1312102992 Tirana SINDIKALISTI in Albanian 7 Dec 92 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Neo-Nazis in Tirana"]

[Text] The neo-Nazis have arrived in Albania as well. According to the daily EXPRESS, the first clan of the Albanian "bobbed heads" has been created in Tirana. According to the daily, the leader of the movement is an unidentified medical student. The group has already managed to scribble a notice on the wall in front of the Justice Court Residence, which reads: "Welcome Hitler."

Becoming 'Very Evident Problem'

AU1312103892 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 8 Dec 92 p 2

[Unattributed report: "It Should Not Be Overlooked"]

[Text] According to a witness who did not want to be identified, at approximately 1900 [1800 GMT] last night near the former building of the Supreme Court of Justice, some young groups were shouting in chorus "Hail Hitler." We can take this information with reserve, but not the phenomenon. You can see broken crosses and the aforementioned expressions scribbled on many columns in the Palace of Culture, Tirana University building, and other places. Neo-Nazism is presently a very evident problem in Germany, Italy, and other countries. That is why nothing should be overlooked. The state bodies should act with all their force to execute the law. We are convinced that they will be supported by the Albanian public who knows very well about Nazi-fascist crimes.

Zhelev Discusses Attitude Toward Macedonia

PM1412155492 Paris LE MONDE in French 12 Dec 92 pp 7-8

[Sylvie Kauffmann report incorporating interview with Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev; place and date of interview not given: "Macedonia, the Bulgarians' Lost Dream"]

[Excerpt] Blagoevgrad—[passage omitted] One man, scenting danger, would very much like to ensure that the gunpowder does not overflow the borders of former Yugoslavia and set light to the rest of the Balkans: President Zhelyu Zhelev, who, last January, "in the concern for stability," made Bulgaria the first country to recognize the Republic of Macedonia. "For me, it was a question of principle," he stated in an interview for LE MONDE. "Macedonia was always the bone of contention in the Balkans.

"In order to cut short any thought of going back to the beginning of the century, it was essential to make our lack of [territorial] appetite clear..."

The scenario the Bulgarian president fears is simple: escalation in Kosovo; the conflict spreads to Macedonia, where nearly one-third of the population is of Albanian origin; the Bulgarian Government then finds itself faced with an influx of Macedonian refugees (which, as even certain military officials admit, it is in no condition to handle), followed by strong internal pressure in favor of an intervention to rush to the aid of their Slav brothers. The disaster scenario even envisages that Bulgaria's entry into the conflict would be followed by the entry of the Turks, to give a helping hand to the Albanian Muslims, and finally, to round things off, the Greeks, who could not remain passive in the face of such a mobilization.

All political forces in Sofia agree that the Bulgarian Army should remain detached from any possible conflict in Macedonia. But, Mr. Zhelev fears, "we would have great difficulty in preventing extremist groups from crossing the border to defend their families."

The Bulgarian president has therefore multiplied his diplomatic contacts, particularly with the leaders of Macedonia, and even succeeded in persuading Russian President Boris Yeltsin to recognize the Republic of Macedonia during a visit to Sofia in August, right under the noses of the Serbs—the Russians' historical allies—and the Greeks!

In parallel, Zhelyu Zhelev recognizes that he has "in a sense" modified his stance on the nonexistence of a Macedonian nation: "We have a common history, a common language, a common religion," he explains. "For the vast majority of Bulgarians, and for our historians, the idea has therefore arisen that Macedonia is not a nation in its own right. But politically, we cannot allow ourselves to impose a national identity on the Macedonians. They have the right to choose for themselves—that is the most essential democratic right of the individual."

President Zhelev is here walking into a minefield: "If he recognizes the Macedonian nation," the young [Bulgarian citizen] Anatoli says darkly, "he is in his last days as president"... Fortunately the majority of Bulgarians have a cooler head than Anatoli and more pressing concerns—economic, in particular—than Macedonia. But their president would certainly have an easier task if the West, which, under Greek pressure, is persisting in refusing to recognize the Republic of Macedonia, was also to undergo an evolution.

Parliament Ratifies Friendship Treaty With Russia

AU1312213292 Sofia BTA in English 1713 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 11 (BTA)—Parliament today passed an act on the ratification of the ten-year Bulgarian-Russian Friendship Treaty signed by Presidents Zhelyu Zhelev and Boris Yeltsin in August. Bulgaria is the first East European country with which the Russian president signed a treaty.

During the brief debates before the vote, the M.P.'s [members of parliament] expressed their approval of the treaty with the Russian Federation which, according to them, is a great power in world politics despite the current economic crisis there.

"The treaty is in line with the great changes in the two countries' political and economic systems and opens new prospects for equal mutually advantageous cooperation," says the motivation part of the Ratification Act, offered by the cabinet of the Union of Democratic Forces led by Filip Dimitrov.

The treaty is an expression of the two countries' willingness to take part in the building of the new Europe and to meet their commitments within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. An article in the treaty makes provisions for contacts in times of crisis and escalation of international tensions, especially in Europe and the Black Sea region.

The treaty is based on the freedom of the choice of political, economic, social and cultural development.

In a special clause in the treaty, Bulgaria and Russia express their willingness to cooperate in the military technical area, for which additional agreements will be signed.

As to the sensitive issue of monuments and other symbols of the past, the Bulgarian party proposed that the treaty make provisions for independent decisions about monuments on the territory of each country.

The treaty also makes provisions for the protection and development of the national, linguistic, cultural and religious identity of Bulgarian citizens living in Russia and vice versa.

Western Intervention in Balkans Considered

AU1112150292 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 7 Dec 92 p 6

[Yordan Angelov article: "Military Intervention Is Better Than Balkan-Style Arrangement"]

[Text] A high-level EC meeting is expected to take place in Edinburgh at the end of the week. The European leaders have many problems to discuss. However, without overrating the well-deserved role of marginal Europeans we have to accept, we have sufficient reason to believe that the impending Balkan disaster and ways of overcoming it are expected to feature as an important, if not a priority item on the agenda.

The situation is such that, willingly or unwillingly, the EC must shed its traditional habit of concealing its helplessness when confronted with sharp conflicts behind makeshift decisions and makeshift actions. Such makeshift solutions are aimed at neutralizing a reproach of inaction rather than achieving urgent results (which applies to the recent past, at least).

The recourse to joint European actions was prompted by the following two new factors: On the one hand, the readiness for a more massive coercive intervention in the affairs of former Yugoslavia and in Balkan affairs seems to have increased since the U.S. presidential elections. On the other hand, the Islamic states issued some rather militant declarations in support of their brothers in fate who are affected by the conflict.

Despite the considerable differences between the EC member states on the subject, the Balkan states are awaiting specific answers on the question of recognizing Macedonia, on its name, on preventive measures in Kosovo, on the rescue of the Bosnian population, and on numerous other issues from the Edinburgh meeting. The most decisive stand, however, should be expressed on the controversial question of whether to pursue the policy of semi-coercive, diplomatic actions and economic sanctions, or whether to select the second alternative of overt, coercive actions that are expected to be directed against Serbia, in the first place.

When, several months ago, the Bulgarian prime minister said something on this subject, he was promptly rebuked on the grounds that no state at all had so far launched such an unequivocal appeal, that Bulgaria was the only country to do so, which was allegedly a mistake according to what numerous people thought and according to what even more of them wrote. Why was the prime minister's statement considered a mistake? In the first place, it was explained that a forced appeasement from the outside would fail to achieve a permanent stabilization, in view of the extremely complicated ethnic, religious, and state-territorial involvements in the area. Further, according to the prime minister's critics, the intervention would develop from a small war into a big war with infinintely more victims and destruction. They also pointed out the moral aspect, among other things, claiming that a country such as Bulgaria, which does not intend to send its own troops to the area, should not urge other countries and alliances to do so. Last, but not least, the aforementioned critics explained that the call for military action is likely to reduce the effect of the current sanctions, considering that everyone would think only of war and prepare for war, thus neglecting the sanctions.

Whatever one may think, a military intervention is a risky step indeed. However, as with all reservations, let us just for a moment accept this possibility as the alternative development which, one way or another, is inevitably likely to end in a Balkan war. It would be a Balkan war in an area from which the Western states are trying to distance themselves and which they are trying to isolate. In such case the Balkan region is likely to be abandoned to itself and turn into a second Lebanon, prey to its own traditional inferiority complexes, historical disputes, and rather savage ways of behavior, to put it frankly. As unpleasant as it sounds, we would prefer a Western intervention with Edinburgh's blessing and with the participation of at least some leading European states, along with other countries, to an endless Balkan slaughter under the increasing influence of non-Western, Southeastern, and Eastern semi-Balkan and totally extraneous forces. The latter would be an infinitely worse option for our area as a whole.

Ecoglasnost, SDS Sponsor Antigovernment Rally

Zhelev Denies Issuing Warning

AU1112205692 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] A statement issued by President Zhelyu Zhelev reads as follows:

Every citizen of the Republic of Bulgaria is entitled to the free expression of views on all issues, political figures, and institutions—the president of the republic included—as well as participating in public rallies and other events of this kind.

Hence, President Zhelev expresses his basic disagreement with the announcement made on 10 December on behalf of the presidential institution, related to presumed provocations which the Ecoglasnost organization and the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] Consultative Council are suspected as the organizers of a public rally scheduled to take place in Sofia on 12 December.

The announcement in question is based on unconfirmed data and has been released without informing the head of state.

President Zhelev has ordered an investigation of the case, in which the public will be duly informed on the investigation's results.

Rally Demands Zhelev Resignation

AU1212184792 Sofia BTA in English
1739 GMT 12 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 12 (BTA)—About 10-12,000 supporters of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] gathered for a rally mottoed "Declassification of Agents' Records and Resignation of President Zhelev Who Blighted Voters' Hopes" in the centre of Sofia. Organized by the SDS-affiliated Ecoglasnost, the rally was attended by followers of other SDS parties too. SDS leader and outgoing Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov addressed the rally. Speeches were made by Svetoslav Luchnikov and Aleksandur Staliyski (outgoing ministers of justice and defence respectively), SDS MP [member of parliament] Edvin Sugarev and other SDS activists.

The speakers insisted on new parliamentary elections, they accused President Zhelyu Zhelev of having organized the overthrow of Filip Dimitrov's cabinet and of aspiring for more power than that vested in him by the Constitution and demanded his resignation. The rally-goers cheered them chanting "Resignation" and "Elections." The speakers insisted on declassifying the records of all former political police agents. In their opinion, this will prevent informers from sitting in parliament after the new elections.

At first Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the SDS National Coordinating Council, was among the rally-goers, then he went up on the platform. I did it to prove the organizers of the meeting have no intention to provoke a police crackdown as the Press Service of the Presidency announced two days ago, he said. Mr. Dimitrov told the rally that while governing the country the SDS had made a lot of compromises, but it could by no means accept a "government of compromise."

An election poster depicting President Zhelyu Zhelev was burnt on the platform. Ecoglasnost activists continued the sign-in campaign for the president's resignation launched some days ago.

'More Than 20,000' Attend

AU1212184492 Paris AFP in English
1805 GMT 12 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, Dec 12 (AFP)—More than 20,000 people demonstrated here Saturday [12 December] for new elections and the opening of Bulgaria's communist secret-police files.

Bulgarians need to "know who is who" in their country, said the leaders of the demonstration, demanding immediate access to the personal files of the 40-year communist regime.

The demonstrators, who mostly belonged to the radical faction of Bulgaria's largest party, the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF), called on President Zhelyu Zhelev to dissolve parliament and resign so that new legislative and presidential elections could be held.

Bulgaria has been struggling to form a government since the minority UDF government of Filip Dimitrov was defeated in a no-confidence vote on October 28. Recent manuevers have centred on attempts by the moderate UDF faction to form an alliance with the Movement for Rights and Liberties (MDL), the Turkish-minority party, which has the third largest number of MPs [members of parliament] after the ex-communist Socialist Party.

The leaders of Saturday's demonstration made it clear they preferred new elections to any compromise with the MDL.

Zhelev Declares Opposition to Early Elections

AU1212200592 Sofia BTA in English
1945 GMT 12 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 12 (BTA)—This evening, interviewed for the Panorama weekly political review of the national television, President Zhelyu Zhelev declared himself to be categorically against early parliamentary elections.

Having in mind the buildup of threats in the Balkans, the cabinet crisis in Bulgaria is especially alarming, the president said. He listed some of the changes in the situation which justify such concern: the disputes over the name of Macedonia, the rally in Athens mottoed "Macedonia Is Ours" (which President Zhelev described as "strange"), the decision of Turkey's parliament to endorse the sending of Turkish military units to Bosnia, and the change of the U.S. administration. Mr. Zhelev added to the list the developments in the former Soviet Union which, in his opinion, could turn into "a second vast Yugoslavia."

"Against the background of these closer or more remote events, we cannot afford to play at holding elections or caretaker cabinets," Dr. Zhelev stressed. He denied the charges that what he is after is the appointment of a caretaker cabinet, and hence the establishment of an authoritarian regime. Under the Constitution such a cabinet will stay in office only two months and it is ridiculous to think that an authoritarian regime can be established in such a short time, Dr. Zhelev said.

Invited to comment on today's rally in Sofia which demanded his resignation, President Zhelev said that in a democracy all citizens have the right to express their own attitude to any institution within the framework provided by the law.

SDS, DPS Working Groups Continue Talks

AU1212211892 Sofia BTA in English 2213 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Excerpt] Sofia, December 11 (BTA) [passage omitted] Working groups of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] and the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] today continued talks on the conditions for restoring their majority in parliament and their mutual confidence, on the future agreement between the two political forces, and the composition of a possible coalition government. The media will not be given specific information during the talks, one of the participants told BTA. [passage omitted]

SDS Conference Discusses Joining DPS Cabinet

Main Issues Previewed

AU1212212192 Sofia BTA in English 1921 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Evgenia Drumeva report]

[Text] Sofia, December 11 (BTA) - A national conference of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) on Sunday, December 13, will decide whether the SDS should enter a coalition government formed with the mandate of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), or it should insist on early elections. The SDS National Coordinating Council decided to convene the conference early this week when it became clear that the Socialist Party's nominee to the premiership stood no chance of success.

The SDS is divided over its future course. Most members of the National Coordinating Council believe that even elections this winter are preferable to more compromises with the DPS. Most M.P.'s [members of parliament] of the SDS hold the opposite view and believe that negotiations and a coalition government with the DPS still are possible. According to SDS Chief Secretary Ivan Kurtev, the views of the SDS municipal coordinating councils will be decisive at the conference.

It seems unlikely that the SDS will accept a coalition cabinet with the DPS, the third biggest parliamentary force, which will be given a mandate to form a cabinet under the Constitution.

SDS leader Filip Dimitrov, the outgoing prime minister, said in an interview for the dailies yesterday that "the SDS could remain in power with the DPS's support but the point is what price it should pay and what terms will be set to it." According to him, the general view is that a government should be formed for the winter and it is taken for granted that elections will be held in 1993. If this is so, the argument that elections must not be held in winter makes no sense, says Filip Dimitrov.

The relations between the SDS and the DPS, which formed a parliamentary majority to elect the SDS cabinet in November 1991, have been strained since September when the DPS divested Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov of its political confidence. Later on M.P.'s of the DPS passed a no-confidence vote on the cabinet together with the M.P.'s of the Socialist Party. When the SDS again named Filip Dimitrov prime minister-designate, the DPS proposed a coalition cabinet. During the negotiations the two forces disagreed over the distribution of posts in the enforcement ministries and the subordination of the National Intelligence Service (the SDS insisted that control over it be transferred from the office of the president to the government, so as to be controlled by parliament). In late November Filip Dimitrov's nomination to the premiership was defeated in parliament.

If the forthcoming SDS conference decides to continue negotiations with the DPS, it will have to "set acceptable limits on compromise." According to Filip Dimitrov, to enter a coalition government the SDS needs guarantees from the DPS that "what the union did as a ruling force in a year will not be destroyed." If we had agreed to impose the will of the 24-member parliamentary group of the DPS on 110 M.P.'s of the SDS, it would have been a perversion, Filip Dimitrov said in an interview for DEMOKRATSIYA yesterday.

After the failure of two parliamentary forces to form a cabinet, the president will give a mandate to a person nominated by the third biggest force, the DPS, as provided for in the Constitution. However, President Zhelev has not announced a new round of consultations, nor has the DPS stated officially that it is ready to be assigned a mandate.

Two days ago the parliamentary groups of the SDS and the DPS appointed contact groups to draw up an agreement on guarantees and conditions for restoring mutual political confidence and their parliamentary majority. The groups continued their work today but Verzhinia Velcheva M.P. of the SDS told the press "these meetings are almost useless because we will probably choose elections."

Delegates' Attitudes Polled

AU1312182592 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 13 Dec 92

[All numbers as heard]

[Text] The national conference of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] is being held. As you know, the blue [SDS] coalition is working out a decision on whether to negotiate with the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] on forming a new cabinet and what the limits of a compromise acceptable to the SDS should be. The results of a poll conducted at the conference are ready. Here is a report from Olga Ivanova:

[Ivanova] A debate scheduled to last four hours continues in the conference hall. Let me briefly report the results of the poll. Three-quarters of the regional coordinating councils voted for conducting negotiations with the DPS, and only one quarter oppose the negotiations. Some 74 percent of the delegates to the conference support the negotiations and 24 percent oppose them. Some 53 percent of the leaders of the political parties within the SDS support the negotiations and 42 percent oppose them. Those who support the negotiations insist on observing the basic requirements which the SDS posed to the DPS in the past, namely, that the laws adopted by the National Assembly should not be revised and that the following issues must be clarified: The National Intelligence Service, relations with the international financial organizations, relations with the trade unions, the enforcement ministries, which must remain in the hands of the SDS, maintaining a solid parliamentary majority, and finally, the issue that was added today—the personal files.

It was decided that if indeed negotiations are conducted with the DPS, the SDS must be represented by the National Coordinating Council and not by its parliamentary faction.

Aleksandur Yordanov, who chairs the debate, is with me, and he will analyze the developments at the conference.

[Yordanov] It is difficult to analyze the results in a brief manner. Let me only stress a few important issues. First of all, absolutely all of those who took the floor were representatives of the regional coordinating councils—one from each okrug, except for Sofia, which is represented by two councils—Sofia City and Sofia Okrug. They all stressed the necessity of negotiating with the DPS on the basis of the six conditions which were posed in the past, and the new condition which recently was added—the personal files issue. It is especially important to point out that the major cities—Burgas, Veliko Turnovo, Vidin, Varna, Gabrovo, where the SDS won a total victory in the elections, Dobrich, Plovdiv, Pleven Pernik, Pazardzhik, Mikhaylovgrad, Razgrad, and Ruse—supported negotiations with the DPS and stressed that it must be made clear from the outset that the SDS must appoint the prime minister and the ministers of the enforcement ministries. Everything else is negotiable.

Thus if we summarize the results we could say that of 1,111 polling cards which were distributed to the delegates, parties, organizations, and ministers, 75 percent support the negotiations. Some 23 percent oppose the negotiations and support holding early elections. One percent did not express any opinion.

As far as the conditions are concerned, the opinion prevails that the SDS must appoint the prime minister and the ministers of the enforcement ministries. It is especially important that almost all participants—about 94 percent—firmly stated that there must be a political agreement with the DPS prior to beginning the talks on forming the cabinet. Let me point out the specific results of the poll. Some 93 percent of the delegates supported the opinion that the government's legislative policy must continue and no changes must be made in the basic tenets of the laws. Some 88 percent supported the view that the National Intelligence Service must be placed under parliamentary control. Some 95 percent support the view that the agreements with the IMF and the World Bank must be implemented i.e., the country must implement its commitments related to the foreign debt, and the talks on association with the EC. Some 96 percent favor dialogue with the trade unions without any political conditions on their side. Finally, 96 percent support the position of the National Coordinating Council on the personal files.

My personal opinion is that the voice of prudence is gaining strength. At this difficult moment for our country, the prudence demonstrated by the delegates is dictated by our national interests and the opinion that care for all Bulgarian citizens must be placed above all narrow party personal ambitions within the SDS. This is something that reaffirms the democratic character of our union. In the final analysis the debates revolved around an artificial dilemma—negotiations or elections. The opinion prevails that we must always be prepared for elections, but prudence shows that negotiations are the road to lead us rapidly out of the economic crisis.

[Ivanova] Thank you for your commentary.

Negotiations, But No Concessions Advocated

AU1312203592 Sofia BTA in English 1955 GMT 13 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 13 (BTA)—At the national conference of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) which opened here this morning the opinion seems to have prevailed that the SDS should negotiate the forming of a government coalition with the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) but no concessions concerning the fulfillment of certain conditions should be made.

As it was announced in advance, the conference should decide whether the SDS would hold negotiations on the formation of a coalition government using the mandate of the DPS or it should seek early elections. If the opinion that talks should be held finally prevails, then it will have to determine "the limits of the compromise the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] should make," i.e. to set the conditions on which the SDS would participate in the cabinet.

The results of the questionnaires which the delegates had filled before the opening of the conference were made public in the afternoon. Most of the delegates are representatives of the local SDS organizations. According to 75 percent a new attempt should be made to form a coalition government using the mandate of the DPS, 23

percent believe that new elections should be held. However, the number of leaders of the SDS parties and organizations supporting the idea for talks with the DPS and of those who oppose it is almost the same. Regarding the conditions on which the SDS would participate in a coalition government, over 90 percent believe that a political agreement with the DPS should be signed first. Most expressed the view that the SDS should nominate the prime minister and the heads of the enforcement ministers.

The conference opened with statements by SDS leader and outgoing Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov and National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov, until recently floor leader of the SDS parliamentary group. Analysts say that they are exponents of the two tendencies which have emerged in the SDS coalition.

"Who, and in the name of what he would assume the responsibility of forming a tottering cabinet that may eventually collapse," Mr. Filip Dimitrov said addressing the conference as the SDS press bulletin says (the conference is being held behind closed doors). According to Mr. Dimitrov, even if negotiations with the DPS were held, it might also lead to early elections.

Mr. Aleksandur Yordanov said that the holding of early elections was risky for the SDS—the coalition could hardly win an overwhelming majority, besides the new parliament could form a "left-wing bloc" against the SDS. If now we have to work out a compromise with only one partner, then (when a new parliament is elected) we will have to make concessions to more than one partner, Mr. Yordanov is said of having stressed.

Participants in the conference say that most delegates are for negotiations with the DPS by adding yet another condition to the ones stipulated during the talks with the DPS at the beginning of November—the declassification of former agents' records. At the end of October the first cabinet formed by the SDS and headed by Mr. Filip Dimitrov was forced to resign. When the SDS, being the largest parliamentary force, nominated Mr. Dimitrov prime minister again, the DPS declared itself to be for a coalition government. No agreement was reached during the SDS-DPS negotiations on the distribution of posts at the enforcement ministries and on the SDS proposal to transfer the control over the National Intelligence Service to the government.

The national conference has got to decide who will hold the talks with the DPS—the SDS National Coordinating Council (the coalition's top leadership) or the SDS parliamentary group most of whose members recently declared themselves to be for more flexibility and the working out of compromises with the DPS.

According to SDS organizational secretary Ivan Kurtev, the conference is a working one and that is the reason for not inviting guests to it. However, there was a little incident this morning—a lady who is SDS MP protested against the presence of Mr. John Kunstadter, first secretary of the U.S. Embassy in Sofia, who was later asked to go.

Conference Adopts Resolution

AU1412075692 Sofia BTA in English
2110 GMT 13 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 13 (BTA)—If the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) offers the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) to use its mandate and form a cabinet, the SDS will open negotiations on its formation, it is said in the resolution passed by the SDS national conference which ended this evening.

The SDS will insist on signing a political agreement with the DPS which would guarantee parliamentary support for the new cabinet. According to the SDS, the agreement should provide guarantees that the DPS accepts the fulfillment of certain conditions, the nomination of prime minister designate and heads of the enforcement ministries by the SDS included. At the previous talks held by the two political forces their failure to come to an agreement on two points of controversy—the distribution of posts at the enforcement ministries and on transferring the control over the National Intelligence Service (now controlled by the president) to the government, proved to be the decisive factor that foiled the formation of a SDS-DPS coalition cabinet. Now these conditions shall include yet another one—which, however, the DPS considers to be unacceptable: the declassification of all former State Security agents' records. The participants in the national conference said they were not sure that the DPS would accept the stipulated conditions.

The participants in the conference were categorical that the SDS will not support any cabinet if its conditions are not fulfilled.

The resolutions of the National Coordinating Council (the political top leadership of the SDS coalition) will be obligatory during the negotiations, the delegates decided at today's national conference. However, there are differences within the SDS parliamentary group which will hold the negotiations. The hardliners are for early elections and against any concessions, about 50 radical-minded MP's insist on the SDS agreeing to make some compromises and stay in power. The differences surfaced during today's conference too. A little scandal broke out between the supporters of different positions. Some delegates even said there might be a split, but later on passions subsided.

The ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms has not declared formally yet that it is ready to accept a mandate for forming a cabinet, nor has made a formal proposal to the SDS to open talks on a coalition government. But its leaders spoke to this effect immediately after Mr. Filip Dimitrov's cabinet fell.

Resolution Seen as 'Hardliners' Win

AU1412123192 Sofia BTA in English
1148 GMT 14 Dec 92

[Evegeniya Drumeva commentary: "Coalition Cabinet or Elections To Become Known Soon"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 14 (BTA)—The decision adopted at yesterday's conference of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), described as a compromise one, was rather a victory of the "hardliners" in the coalition. The SDS will conduct negotiations with the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) but will not yield from its positions.

The DPS has to choose between giving up its criticism of the policy pursued so far by the SDS accepting its conditions and becoming responsible for the holding of early parliamentary elections.

After the failure of the first two political forces in parliament—the SDS and the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), now it is the turn of the DPS to attempt to form a cabinet. The DPS, holding 24 seats in parliament, has no choice but to form a cabinet with the SDS. The Socialists are hardly likely to openly support a cabinet formed under the mandate of the party of the Bulgarian Turks because this would deprive them of a considerable part of their firm electorate—the nationalists.

Already two months ago DPS leader Ahmed Dogan declared himself for a "turn to the left" in the policy pursued by the cabinet of the SDS. He has established close contacts with the "B-12" group of ex-Defence Minister Dimitur Ludzhev removed from the cabinet of the SDS in May by Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov. The "B-12" came out with a memorandum defending the need for a change in the government's economic policy and for making greater concessions to the trade unions. According to the latest statements made by MP's [members of parliament] of the radical Alliance for Social Democracy in the BSP, they would support a future cabinet, regardless under whose mandate it is formed, provided there are guarantees that it would pursue a new policy. Despite the recent talk about a possible reshuffle of the forces in parliament and the establishment of a new majority, this is hardly likely because the total number of MP's of the DPS, of the "B-12" and of the Alliance for Social Democracy does not exceed 60-70 which is less than one-third of the 240-member National Assembly. Even if a cabinet is formed with their support it would be a compromise one and would postpone the holding of elections only by several months.

The other possibility for the DPS is to refuse the mandate to form a cabinet. In this case the Bulgarian Constitution provides for the president to dissolve parliament, to appoint a caretaker cabinet and to schedule the holding of new elections within two months.

Papers Comment on Results

AU1412094092 Sofia BTA in English
0844 GMT 14 Dec 92

[From the BTA 14 December "Press Review"]

[Excerpt] Sofia, December 14 (BTA)—Today's press frontpages yesterday's national conference of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) which decided to hold negotiations with the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) on the formation of a cabinet.

According to DEMOKRATSIYA, this conference has given yet another chance to change in Bulgaria. The daily of the SDS points out that only a political agreement between the SDS and the DPS with explicitly stated conditions can clear the way to a future coalition cabinet. OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK writes that many participants in yesterday's conference expressed doubt in the binding force of an agreement between the SDS and the DPS.

STANDARD NEWS reports that the SDS and the DPS have agreed that after receiving a mandate to form a cabinet from the president, the DPS would offer it in written form to the SDS. 24 CHASA quotes the outgoing Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov, leader of the SDS, as saying that "the negotiations with the DPS may finally also lead to the holding of new elections." Mr. Stefan Savov, leader of the Democratic Party (in the SDS), told STANDARD NEWS that if the DPS does not accept the conditions of the coalition and forms a cabinet it would not be supported.

24 CHASA, and STANDARD NEWS write that the SDS and the DPS have agreed on the opening of the police files (one of the conditions set by the SDS) after the passing of the respective law by parliament. According to 24 CHASA they have also agreed on the passing of a Law on the National Intelligence Service which the SDS wants to be placed under parliamentary control.

According to DUMA, the secret services and the names of the ministers may still cause a quarrel between the SDS and the DPS.

In a commentary on the cabinet crisis STANDARD NEWS stresses that the conditions of the SDS frustrated the setting up of a coalition cabinet with the DPS when it was the mandate of the SDS.

"All projections of the outcome of the efforts to set up a coalition cabinet of the SDS and the DPS are risky. Dogan remains the most unpredictable politician," OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK writes. This daily quotes an anonymous source of the DPS as saying that the DPS may accept the conditions of the SDS if they are the same. At its conference yesterday the SDS did not change its conditions. [passage omitted]

Turkish Democratic Party Established

AU1212211492 Sofia BTA in English 1933 GMT 12 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 12 (BTA)—The initiators for founding a Turkish Democratic Party (TDP) today gathered in the town of Zavet (northeastern Bulgaria). Their group includes Adem Kenan and Sabri Hyusein, both members of the Grand National Assembly for the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS], and representatives of different regions of the country. Three incumbent DPS MP's [members of parliament] also attended the meeting. Petur Boyadzhiev, leader of the extraparliamentary Union for Bulgaria Party, who was nominated prime minister by the Bulgarian Socialist Party but his mandate to form a cabinet was foiled, arrived in Zavet this afternoon.

The mayor of Zavet had banned the founders' meeting but when a checkup established their intentions were not unconstitutional, the ban was lifted.

According to last week's publications in the press, the stress in the TDP draft constitution is laid on the need to give the Bulgarian Turks minority rights. The TDP "seeks to unite the Turkish minority and the ethnic communities with Turkish self-awareness that profess Islam or Christianity," reads a passage in the TDP draft constitution cited two days ago by KONTINENT.

If the law courts refuse the registration of the TDP (the Bulgarian Constitution bans the setting up of parties on an ethnic or religious basis), the founders will refer the matter to the international human rights organizations, Adem Kenan says in an extensive interview in today's 24 CHASA. He says they have already contacted the Helsinki Watch and were assured that "they will provide assistance in our being recognized as a Turkish minority."

Asked why the decision for the establishment of the TDP was made exactly at this moment, Mr. Kenan says the major reason for it is the census taken of the population in Bulgaria. The questionnaires include questions about people's ethnic identity. In Mr. Kenan's opinion, that is the problem—under the Constitution, Bulgaria is a single-nation state but "whether it is really so and what the international community will consider us to be will become clear after the census." We should be recognized as a multinational state, thus putting an end to the assimilation campaign against the Turks launched at the time of former communist leader Todor Zhivkov, Adem Kenan underlines.

He sharply criticizes the leaders of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms set up early in 1990—the sole party of ethnic Turks in Bulgaria. According to him, the DPS has brought together "a whole generation of consummate state security agents."

Mr. Kenan says that there are differences of principle between the DPS and the TDP. According to the DPS, the Bulgarian Turks are a historically established ethnic community in the territory of this country and part of the Bulgarian people—and this concept is the worst treachery committed by Ahmed Dogan, Mr. Kenan says. In his opinion, defending this concept is tantamount to "a new and even more violent assimilation campaign." On the other hand, the TDP defends the position that the Bulgarian turks must be given the status of a minority.

"The 1947 Constitution recognized our status as a minority, we developed as a minority for a long time, and then all of a sudden some pseudo-philosophers claiming they know history (Ahmed Dogan is a philosophy graduate) come up and say we are not Turks but an ethnic ingredient of the Bulgarian people," Adem Kenan goes on to say. "Turkey does not agree with Dogan's policy any more, it has turned its eyes to us," he notes. He says that the founders of the TDP have sent a video material to Turkey's President Turgut Ozal outlining the purposes of the party and now are waiting for his response.

"We (the Bulgarian Turks), who are over half a million, struggling for some so-called national unity or concord? This runs counter to any human thought and logic," Adem Kenan says in reply to the question if national unity and concord can be achieved in Bulgaria.

Adem Kenan Elected Leader

AU1312183392 Sofia BTA in English 1721 GMT 13 Dec 92

[Text] Razgrad, December 13 (BTA)—Late last night the Provisional Central Coordinating Council of the Turkish Democratic Party (TDP), approved by the TDP constituent meeting in the town of Zavet (northeastern Bulgaria), elected Adem Kenan, 42, chairman of the Council.

Article 1 of the TDP draft constitution, which Mr. Kenan made public, says that the party is "a democratic, independent organization which seeks to unite the Turkish minority and the ethnic communities with Turkish self-awareness that profess Islam or Christianity." According to the draft constitution, the party will carry out its activity in compliance with the Bulgarian Constitution and the Bulgarian law. At the same time, however, the TDP leader said that in his own opinion and in the opinion of his followers the constitution, adopted by the 7th Grand National Assembly last year, was "vicious and chauvinistic." The TDP will look for means and ways to change it, it was said.

Party Not To Seek Political Autonomy

AU1412124192 Sofia BTA in English 1110 GMT 14 Dec 92

["Turkish Democratic Party Does Not Claim Political Autonomy, Leader Kenan Says"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 14 (BTA)—Adem Kenan, leader of an initiative group planning to set up a Turkish Democratic Party, which met in Zavet in the Razgrad

region, northeastern Bulgaria this weekend, today denied that his party would seek political autonomy for Bulgarian Turks. Mr. Kenan, interviewed by KONTINENT, says administrative and cultural autonomy is granted to ethnic minorities as a matter of principle. "We are not claiming anything more than a national minority status and the internationally recognized rights granted to minorities," he said.

Adem Kenan, 42, held a seat in the Great National Assembly (1990-91) for the ethnic Turks Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS).

On several occasions lately, Mr. Kenan told reporters Bulgaria should be seen as a multi-national state. The Turkish Democratic Party disagrees on principle with the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, which sees ethnic Turks as part of the Bulgarian nation, he said.

Mr. Kenan told KONTINENT the meeting in Zavet approved a draft statutes of the party. The statutes is to be approved by a founding conference in six months. Mr. Kenan said he expected court registration to drag on due to opposition from Bulgarian nationalist parties, whose strings in his words are pulled by the Bulgarian Socialist, former Communist, Party. The initiative group intends to contact international human rights organizations. The meeting this weekend discussed access of ethnic Turks to military academies and diplomatic service.

Adem Kenan told KONTINENT that representatives of the Turkish Democratic Party came into contact with Turkish officials "on almost a government level." The Turkish Democratic Party calls for free movement of people across the Bulgarian-Turkish border, which, Mr. Kenan says, means visa-free entry.

Democratic Party Holds National Conference

AU1112193392 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] As you presumably heard, a national conference of the Democratic Party opened today.

In his opening address, Stefan Savov, chairman of the Democratic Party, set forth the questions that are awaiting an answer from the conference, such as: Which is the supreme organ of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], and should the SDS negotiate with the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] on forming a government under a DPS mandate, or call for new elections?

At the same time, Stefan Savov announced the decision of the Democratic Party's Central Bureau, according to which representatives of the the Democratic Party do not intend to participate in a future SDS-DPS coalition government. Parliament members of the Democratic Party would support such a government only if the prime minister should be nominated by the SDS.

According to Georgi Markov, deputy chairman of the Democratic Party, the resolution that the party conference is planning to adopt should contain the requirement that the DPS should publicly address the Bulgarian nation and officially invite the SDS for talks about a future cabinet, and also that the Movement's demands should be clearly stated.

The conference of the Democratic Party is expected to end tomorrow.

Supports DPS-SDS Coalition

AU1212203192 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 12 Dec 92

[Text] The SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] should hold talks with the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] on forming a government under the DPS mandate, states a resolution approved by the Democratic Party national conference today. Accordingly, the negotiations should be conducted by SDS National Coordinating Council appointees. The Democratic Party itself will not send any representatives to these talks, but will support an SDS government with DPS representation if the two political groups conclude a preliminary agreement based on the six conditions established in the previous talks and if it is decided to declassify the personal files.

According to the Democratic Party, the SDS should nominate the prime minister and the ministers and deputy ministers of four ministries—the Defense Ministry, Interior Ministry, Foreign Ministry, and Justice Ministry. The resolution also states that the party will not support a government formed with the DPS mandate if it is constructed on the basis of conditions that compromise the merit and identity of the SDS.

Christian Republican Party Leaves BSP Coalition

AU1412094792 Sofia PODKREPA in Bulgarian 8 Dec 92 p 1

[PODKREPA staff report]

[Text] After consulting its regional party leaderships, the Christian Republican Party National Secretariat decided that the party should leave the election campaign alliance of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party]. Petur Boyadzhiev's candidacy was the reason why the party suddenly saw the light, realizing that the coalition in fact did not exist, and that the parties belonging to the coalition were being used merely to supply a coalition gloss for the former communists.

"In the present political situation we want it to be known that we have nothing to do with the BSP's rash policy of forming a government. As a party whose functions are decaying, the BSP has no right to delude the voters into believing that it can be a ruling force," the Christian Republican Party states in the declaration of its stance, adding that it is leaving the alliance because "it cannot remain in a pretense alliance with a party that is turning communist."

Labor Confederation Head Explains Policies

AU1112151192 Sofia PODKREPA in Bulgarian 7 Dec 92 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Konstantin Trenchev, president of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, by Khristo Karlukovski, PODKREPA daily's observer; place and date not given: "Democracy Is a Creative Deed and an Alternative for the Existing Situation"]

[Text] [Karlukovski] Mr. Trenchev, the Podkrepa Labor Confederation is one of the founders of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. Today is the third anniversary of the union. May I ask you, on this occasion, what are the chief conclusions, the political, social, and trade unionist implications of Podkrepa's participation in the process of changing the system?

[Trenchev] Anniversaries usually evoke reflections and assessments. Throughout the three years of the SDS's existence and within the four years of Podkrepa's existence numerous processes developed in our society, some of them proceeding in a rather stormy manner. Today, it is simply impossible to talk about the SDS without mentioning Podkrepa and vice versa. The policy of Podkrepa throughout this period has not changed. Our goal is to achieve a radical change in Bulgarian society in all its structures in accordance with trade union principles. Only in this manner can Bulgaria be changed and turned into a normal country with normal economic, social, moral, and other structures. It is no coincidence that the organizations which existed prior to 10 November 1989 searched for a formula to rally their forces, because what I just described as the goal of our organization was the common objective of all democratic formations at that time. Fortunately, our efforts were successful.

How did the processes develop at a later stage? This development is a subject for numerous analytical studies in the future. However, even today we can describe the main points of the gradual changes. In the first stage Podkrepa actively participated in the political process, thus becoming one of the guarantors of its irrevocability. Then, having established that the situation had advanced in terms of society's democratization, Podkrepa left the SDS by having the status of an observer within the coalition. This act was dictated by the circumstance that the two structures shared the same ideas, but worked in two different spheres. Podkrepa had managed to accomplish many things which the politicians had been unable to, considering that they did not possess sufficient human resources and the appropriate organizational structures through which to implement the ideas endorsed by the people. To put it more precisely, we participated in the elections without claiming a share of the executive power. We cleared the road for the democratic forces by overthrowing the last communist government. Throughout those three years we carefully observed the development of social processes, also from the point of view of our specific tasks, and tried to influence those processes.

We are being accused of engaging in political activities. I would to like to clarify this point. To engage in politics means to select a candidate for political office. This is the law. Political activities in the broadest sense of the term means to get involved in public affairs and to analyze the social processes. In this respect Podkrepa, as an organization of some importance in society, cannot be indifferent to the people's situation. If an organization remains passive and does not get involved, it risks losing the confidence of its members and supporters.

[Karlukovski] Is the idea of Podkrepa still proceeding hand in hand with the SDS idea in terms of time and people's behavior?

[Trenchev] The idea of Podkrepa is to eliminate the old communist structures and their proponents by democratic means and to replace them with new ones—with structures which are based on the traditional values of human civilization. The SDS idea is rather more theoretical. The SDS idea is aimed at rallying the efforts of all democratically minded people in Bulgaria and assuming power by democratic methods in order to change society through the channels of power. This idea has been implemented to a certain extent. However, unlike our own line of behavior, our politicians seem to owe something to society as regards the implementation of the SDS idea, in my view.

[Karlukovski] On the occasion of the Second Podkrepa Labor Confederation Congress, you used the expression "the trade unionization of public life" as a forthcoming stage of development in social relations. What did you mean by this formula?

[Trenchev] Naturally, I meant the processes under way and future ones, which can be expected to manifest themselves in social relations. I actually envisaged that people should shed their emotions and begin looking at the realistic implementation of their aspirations. Trade unionism is a process of depoliticization which is based on the real problems of society. The accomplishment of political tasks has cleared the path for trade union activities. We can already talk about the development of professional trade unionism in the activities of Podkrepa.

[Karlukovski] What would you describe as the greatest danger arising from the escalating political crisis of recent months?

[Trenchev] I would say that it involves many dangers. We have voiced our misgivings on several occasions in this respect. One of the dangers is the excessive personalization of politics. The political behavior of certain individuals is prevailing over political principles. The other danger is the fact that the personal mistakes of certain individuals could be interpreted as basic flaws in democracy by their political opponents. The events

which are occuring near Bulgaria today also represent a danger. Under certain circumstances everything could unexpectedly change in our neighborhood, even within the next 24 hours. Our politicians, distracted by their infighting, do not pay attention to this danger. They have forgotten that the most important thing which they should care for is our country, Bulgaria, its fate and its future.

Dimitrov Connection With State Security Denied

AU1212185592 Sofia BTA in English 1824 GMT 12 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 12 (BTA)—Filip Dimitrov used to rent his dwelling to the secret services, today's KONTINENT says, referring to an interview with Bulgarian Foreign Minister Ganev for the Panorama weekly political review of the Bulgarian national television which has not been broadcasted yet. According to KONTINENT, Mr. Ganev has asked the TV to cut out this part of the interview.

The Press Service of the Ministry of the Interior informed BTA in this connection that a checkup had been made in the ministry's archives. Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov's dwelling has never been used by the former State Security nor was he its agent or informer. All allegations to the contrary are insinuations aimed to calumniate Mr. Dimitrov, it is stressed in the Interior Ministry's Press Service release.

Census Chief Comments on Ethnicity Questions

AU1112170792 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 3 Dec 92 p 2

[Interview with Kiril Donkov, head of Population and Housing Stock Census Department, by Albena Dubova; place and date not given: "Census Count Begins on Friday"]

[Text] Even before the start of this year, Bulgarian citizens were informed that on 4 December they should expect visitors with cards, which they have to complete. The purpose of this census is to draw a picture of our society today.

However, our National Assembly representatives seem to have forgotten about this event. Only a day before the census, it was still unclear whether the questions about ethnic affiliation, mother tongue, and religion will remain unanswered. We applied for an answer to Kiril Donkov, chief of the Population and Housing Stock Census Department.

[Dubova] What lies behind the dispute about ethnic affiliation?

[Donkov] Nothing except statistics. For the same reasons people are differentiated by sex, family situation, and so on. Information on ethnic origin, mother tongue, and religious faith is collected all over the world. In Bulgaria, such information has been gathered from the time of the first census in 1880 until now, and it has formed part of every census except the one of 1985. Now every citizen has had restored the right to declare voluntarily his or her affiliation to a particular ethnic group.

[Dubova] Nevertheless, it would be interesting to know why these questions were left out in 1985.

[Donkov] The so-called "revival" process started in 1984 and culminated in 1989, but this has nothing to do with keeping statistics or with the census itself. We are firmly convinced that this information must form part of the census program, because one has to know the relative numbers of the individual ethnic groups in the country's population to be able to draw up a policy on ethnic problems.

[Dubova] Do you expect to receive frank answers on the census cards?

[Donkov] We are more trusting than people in other countries. I believe that we will obtain enough objective information to characterize the objective condition of the population, the housing stock, and the processes that have taken place in them since the last census.

[Dubova] What is the percentage of error in the final census results?

[Donkov] To establish these errors, we conduct so-called check counts one week after the conclusion of the main count. These check counts are made of a comparatively limited sample, using two separate sets of census cards. We already have data about the dwellings and persons concerned from the main count, and now have a second set of information accurately collected on the check cards. We compare the two sets of data and establish the percentage error. Such check counts have been conducted in Bulgaria since 1965, and we are among the countries that make the fewest errors in assessing the completeness of the census and the accuracy of the information recorded.

[Dubova] Are you expecting to obtain an objective picture regarding land and property restitution and privatization? It is likely that some people will not want to disclose the precise size of their property.

[Donkov] Nothing will be disclosed, and if anyone refuses to answer this question, we have provided for a sample of 40,000 people, which should be representative enough.

[Dubova] When will the census begin, and how will the work proceed?

[Donkov] We start at 0800 on 4 December 1992 and will finish on 14 December. On the basis of additional forms to provide quick results, we will publish the first results a little before the New Year, and we will begin to receive the final results in September 1993.

Meciar Views Bugging as 'Political Provocation'

LD1112141092 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] At the end of last week Slovakia again became noticeable in the world, unfortunately in a negative light. The discovery of bugging at the U.S. Consulate in Bratislava is still an open affair. Editor Zuzana Stukovska did not avoid this theme this week either when she interviewed the Slovak prime minister. She asked Vladimir Meciar in this connection:

[Begin recording] [Stukovska] According to your spokesman, Mr. Geci, the government knows about as much as the journalists about the whole affair. If this is indeed so, how is it possible, Mr. Prime Minister, that the new Slovak right-wing party, of which Jan Langos is a member, is better informed about it? This party, according to NARODNA OBRODA, allegedly knew about the discovery of the bugging device before it became the topic of a diplomatic scandal. Did you discuss this very interesting detail?

[Meciar] The name you mentioned is the name of the minister of the interior who was responsible for the disassembly of these devices and who was responsible for ensuring that the embassies would be acquainted with what the true state of bugging was. The true knowledge we have about it is broader than what the public has been told. We know enough. We are expecting that the General Prosecution Office, which opened criminal proceedings in the matter, will commence criminal proceedings against certain persons for nonfulfillment of duties in the highest posts. Everybody must examine his own conscience and please, let us not be naive. Discovery of this kind of equipment several weeks prior to the recognition of Slovakia with such pomposity and propaganda in the situation when we know that similar equipment is being installed also in some embassies in Prague—what is that? It is political provocation, an attempt at discreditation! I even received information that by the end of the year some bugs will also be found in the circles of the Christian Democrats, and the government will be accused of allegedly bugging the political parties or their leaders. Quite a few provocations like this are being prepared. Naturally, we will endure and defeat them. The citizens too are asked to remain just as peaceful and calm. [end recording]

Former StB Believed Involved

AU1112142292 Prague CTK in English 2204 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 9 (CTK)—Former Slovak Premier and Chairman of the Opposition Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) Jan Carnogursky today said that the bugging device in the U.S. Consulate building here could be activated only with the help of former state police (StB) agents who installed it there years ago.

Premier Vladimir Meciar should say who gave him the information that the device is out of work which has proved to be untrue, Carnogursky said in a statement passed to CTK.

In an interview with CTK, he said that as a former Slovak premier he does not know how the device could be activated, but he believes it could not be by legal means. I rule out any legal decision by the Slovak side, he added.

Embassy Claims Bug Still In Use

AU1112141492 Prague CTK in English 1829 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Prague, Dec 9 (CTK)—The United States has conclusive proofs that the bugging device uncovered at the U.S. Consulate in Bratislava was live when found, the U.S. Embassy in Prague informed CTK tonight.

It said that somebody used it as late as November 1992. The device's existence was reported for the first time by Czechoslovak Television on Saturday [5 December]. It said it was found in the past fortnight.

The Czechoslovak Chief Military Prosecutor General Colonel Miroslav Krizenecky told CTK that the military district prosecutor in Bratislava today started legal proceedings against the perpetrator, who is as yet unknown, for having committed the offence of abuse of the powers of [a] public official.

* * *

Also today, the U.S. Embassy said the bugging device's cables were not cut off, but does not rule out that they could have been cut off or disconnected earlier and reconnected later.

The device was found as the consulate building has been remodeled to serve as the U.S. Embassy in the Slovak Republic that will become independent as of January 1, 1993.

It was not uncovered during previous renovation work because it was very well hidden.

The device is now U.S. Government-held. Photographs of it have been passed to Czechoslovak Interior Minister Petr Cermak and also made available to Slovak Interior Minister Jozef Tuchyna, CTK was told by the U.S. Embassy press attache.

The United States has requested that this kind of hostile intelligence activity be not repeated.

* * *

The Federal Security and Information Service (FSIS) has distanced itself from the bugging device found at the U.S. Consulate in Bratislava, FSIS Director Pavol Slovak told CTK tonight.

Stanislav Devaty, FSIS deputy director, said it is very easy to ascertain whether electric power is flowing through a circuit.

Criminal Investigations Begin

LD1312170692 Prague CTK in English 1638 GMT 13 Dec 92

[Text] Prague, Dec 13 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak minister of the interior, Petr Cermak, said on television today that criminal proceedings have been launched against so far unknown offender in connection with December 5 disclosure of a bugging device found at the U.S. Consulate in Bratislava in November.

He said the unknown offender exceeded powers of public official by having used a bugging device without prosecutor's permit. He added that all persons who are likely to have had something to do with the bugging scandal are being investigated.

Cermak said that if the Federal Interior Ministry does not conclude the investigation by January 1, 1993, the date of the envisaged end of the Czechoslovak Federation, the case will be handed over to the Slovak side, which will continue the investigation.

Cermak said he considers to be of no importance who has installed the bugging device or who forgot to remove it. The problem is who used it yet in November 1992, he added.

Jan Langos, former Czechoslovak interior minister, said that reaction of the Slovak side to the disclosure of the bug at the U.S. Consulate was marked by confrontation. He evidenced it by the ill-thought-of statements by Slovak high officials.

Langos said he thinks that diplomatic talks of representatives of the Federal and Slovak Governments at the U.S. Embassy should have taken place in order to help clarify the case.

Daily Detects 'Peculiar Circumstances'

AU1112141792 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 8 Dec 92 p 3

[Commentary by Ivan Horsky: "Bugs for Witches; On the Discovery of Surveillance Equipment in the U.S. Consulate"]

[Text] From the political viewpoint, the spectacular discovery of surveillance equipment in the building of the U.S. Consulate General in Bratislava undeniably represents an unwelcome burden for Slovak-American relations, even before they become official in the form of the diplomatic recognition of the emerging independent state.

However, this bomb has exploded under very peculiar circumstances, political circumstances, in which a strange role is being played by the former federal minister of the interior and his wife, who is personally involved in a supranational company specialized in guaranteeing the safety of firms against electronic espionage. At the same time, it needs to be realized that the use of bugs for surveillance and other technical devices for the acquisition of all kinds of data long ago spread from the active and passive protection of states to the obtaining of information, or preventing leaks of information, about economic matters and research and development.

After all, this form of espionage has been and continues to be used all over the world, including the United States, and not just as a consequence of the mutual distrust stemming from the Cold War period. It would, therefore, be hypocritical to claim that other intelligence services have ceased such practices, which is borne out also by the fact that even the Czechoslovak Embassy in Washington used to be the target of U.S. special agencies' interest.

What has startled me is the fact that the building of the U.S. Consulate General in Bratislava was not "screened" by U.S. counterintelligence, since in the case of the new U.S. Embassy building in Moscow—which turned out to have been built out of microconcrete, that is, a mixture of concrete and KGB-installed microphones—its involvement was all too apparent. Had I been in the position of the chiefs of the U.S. diplomatic service, I would have asked the chiefs of counterintelligence to explain why the appropriate specialized department entrusted the "sweeping" of the building to a private security company, even though it is an cast iron rule to have this kind of work done by secret service specialists.

Apart from this, information has leaked from well-informed sources that the new Slovak right-wing party, of which [former Federal Minister of Interior] Jan Langos is a member, knew about the discovery of the surveillance equipment before it became the subject of a diplomatic scandal. And this was not last Friday [4 December] or Saturday [5 December] when the case was aired by federal television.

We will see what the investigation of the affair will bring to light. However, from what is known at present, it may be possible to draw the perhaps premature conclusion that the bug discovered has become a hammer of witches [kladivo na carodejnice; Slovak translation of the Latin "Malleus Maleficarum," a medieval manual on how to detect witches] with a precisely calculated effect. For many decades, our secret service used to be the leaders in the field of misinformation. Examples of this are more than plentiful. And it seems that this latest example is further evidence of this.

Meciar Interviewed

LD1212000292 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by correspondent Zuzana Stukovska; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Stukovska] One could say that Slovakia has problems at home. What is much

worse, though, is that there are things to be ashamed of abroad. Mr. Prime Minister, do you not blame yourself today, when the affair of the bugging device in the U.S. consulate in Bratislava has completely blown up, that you were not the first to inform the public about this unpleasant event. Maybe the bubble around this case would not have had the chance to blow up to the size it did.

[Meciar] What is happening is not Slovakia's shame. It is the shame of those who are responsible for this, and in Slovakia there is no one. As you noticed I was the first to report this, in my conversation broadcast on Sunday [6 December] by Slovak television. There was an agreement between ourselves and the U.S. ambassador that we would be silent on this until a certain date. So this silence was not broken by either our side or by the U.S. side, but probably our embassy in Washington reported this news further, and it was necessary to react to this. The fact that we were silent on this should disprove the possible suspicion that this was done by services from outside the territory of our republic.

How this developed and the actual event are two diametrically opposed things. In practice everything is completely different from the way it is being written about, and mainly how it is being commented on. But maybe more about that later.

[Stukovska] According to your spokesman, Mr. Geci, the government knows about as much as the journalists about the whole affair—nothing more, nothing less. If this is indeed so, how is it possible, Mr. Prime Minister, that the new Slovak right-wing Party, whose member is also Jan Langos, is better informed about it? This Party, according to NARODNA OBRODA knew, allegedly about the discovery of the bugging device before it became the topic of a diplomatic scandal. Did you discuss this very interesting detail?

[Meciar] The name you mentioned is the name of the Minister of the Interior who was responsible for the disassembly of these devices and who was responsible that the embassies will be acquainted with what was the true state of the bugging. True knowledge about it, which we have is broader than what the public have been told. We know enough. We are expecting that the General Prosecution Office, which opened criminal proceedings in the matter, will commence criminal proceedings against certain persons for nonfulfilment of the duties in the highest posts. Everybody must examine his own conscience and let us not be naive, please. Discovery of this kind of equipment several weeks prior to the recognition of Slovakia with such pomposity and propaganda in the situation when we know that similar equipment is being installed also in some Embassies in Prague—what is that? It is political provocation, attempt at discreditation! I even received information that by the end of the year some bugs are to be found also in the circles of the Christian Democrats and the Government is to be accused of allegedly, bugging the political Parties or their leaders. Quite a few provocations like this are being prepared. Naturally, we shall defeat them and endure them. The citizens too are asked to remain just as peaceful and calm.

[Stukovska] When do you think that this whole incident will be closed? [Meciar] It won't be. For it to be closed an objective investigation must be carried out. For it to be objectively investigated our bodies should have access to the consulate and access to the technical devices, which the U.S. side has referred to. And the Americans have decisively refused this. [Stukovska] Mr. Prime Minister, might not the affair around the bugging devices have an influence on the recognition of independent Slovakia by the United States?

[Meciar] The recognition itself no, the speed of diplomatic contacts maybe. But for the time being there are no signs that the United States will behave differently to Slovakia than the Czech lands. When I talk to diplomats of other states, everyone understands this as a deliberate provocation and not guilt—and that's different. No one in the Slovak Government would dare to take such a step, this step is equal to political suicide. And this is very important for us, Slovakia. It is also a matter close to our heart.

[Stukovska] Let us return to practical politics. After the government session Tuesday [8 December], [Foreign Minister] Milan Knazko was left without a state secretary and his ministry lost significant powers in the field of foreign trade. The transfer of these powers to the Ministry of the Economy headed by the Slovak National Party [SNP] Chairman Ludovit Cernak is marked by certain political circles as a generous gift from the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia to the SNP. What were the reasons that led the government to make such a decision?

[Meciar] To take this politically again and to give an ideological meaning to everything—that must be a disease of our times. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs which assumed some powers in the field of foreign trade found itself in a situation when it began to concentrate all the instruments of foreign trade in its hands. Elsewhere, for instance, customs and customs policy belong to a department of the Ministry of Finance. So the issue was where to place them in our case.

The second dispute was about the point where foreign policy ends and commercial operations start. According to the original agreement, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was supposed to carry out all foreign trade operations after the issue of a license. The issue of licenses was to be within the powers of the Ministry of the Economy and practical issues of commercial activity were to be within the powers of designated organizations. This original concept was submitted to the Slovak National Council. And what happened? A certain official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs went to intervene with the committees. These still inexperienced committees, in the belief that what they heard was the official stance, changed the text of the material of the draft legislation which came from the government. Automatically, after the issue of the changed text, disputes focused on its interpretation. [passage omitted]

[Stukovska] It is a paradox that only recently, especially in the Czech Republic, Slovakia was talked about as a fascist and anti-Semitic country. At present, reports are coming out from the Czech Republic for example about a list of Jews and Jews of mixed race in the current Czech culture published by TYDENIK POLITIKA, or even reports about an attempt to assassinate a constitutional official. However, the protection of constitutional officials has been strengthened in Slovakia. Mr. Prime Minister, do you personally feel that you are in danger?

[Meciar] I am so busy that I have no time to think about personal safety. We always recognize whether something is going to happen by the fact that suddenly there is a great number of people around me. Lately there have been too many people around me. I would not like to comment on what is happening in the Czech lands. What is known in public is only the tip of the iceberg. I would hope that all the prognoses we have had, and which unfortunately are being confirmed, are not realized in the Czech lands. The propaganda, which used to be based on criticism of the others, only resulted in a watering down of what was happening in the Czech lands at the expense of slandering Slovakia.

But today I can say that the situation in Slovakia is more democratic and more orderly than in the Czech lands. I hope they will not be angry with me but if there is somebody able to give a politically objective analysis he must admit it. It is hard to admit it but it is true. I will not look over their shoulder to see what they are cooking. What is important for us is that what we are cooking is not detrimental to health and that there is plenty of it. We have plenty of our own problems to solve. Our problems are of different nature. But despite of everything we know about the life of this country and what we have been through, I am still an optimist. The future will be good and it is not far away.

GATT Membership Succession Agreement Reached

AU1412060892 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 4 Dec 92 pp 1, 14

[Report by "mad": "GATT: Favorable Conditions for the Successor States"]

[Text] At the 48th session of the GATT contracting parties in Geneva yesterday, a delegation made up of representatives of the CSFR and the two national republics succeeded in safeguarding a smooth transfer of the federation's rights and commitments to the two successor states, Engineer Peter Palecka, the CSFR's standing representative to GATT, told HOSPODARSKE NOVINY yesterday evening.

Following complicated talks, the GATT contracting parties adopted two decisions of principle. Under the first decision, the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic ought to be admitted into GATT on the basis of a nonstandard procedure, which means that it should not be necessary to establish a working group that would decide on admission. This would allow the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic to definitively join GATT no later than 31 March next year. Lists of customs concessions [listiny celnich koncesi] and other protocols held by the CSFR will not be changed.

The aim of the second decision is to bridge the legal vacuum between 1 January 1993 and the moment when the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic become full-fledged successors to the extinct state in GATT. This decision is unique in the history of GATT as the still-valid GATT provisions do not provide for the possibility of a contracting party's split into two new successor states.

Under this second decision, the two republics' delegations will be able to participate in all GATT meetings; however, they will not be able to directly influence decision making processes.

As soon as the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic obtain the agreement of a two-thirds majority [of GATT members] for admission, their membership should have retroactive validity, as of 1 January 1993. Thanks to this retroactivity, the application of GATT on our territory will be practically uninterrupted. The decision of the GATT contracting states establishes further favorable conditions for the two newly emerging states' integration into the system of international trade.

Delegation Returns From Syria; Comments on Debt

LD1112221192 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Excerpts] This evening, a delegation of the Federal Government returned from a visit to Syria. Speaking after their return, First Deputy Prime Minister Rudolf Filkus pointed out that this had been, almost certainly, the last foreign trip by this government. Bernard Hornak of the Radiojournal interviewed Rudolf Filkus:

[Begin recording] [passage omitted] [Hornak] I am interested in the debts, which are estimated to be over 159 million [no currency specified]. How will Syria pay back these debts and how much do you think is realistic to expect we are going to be paid back?

[Filkus] We can say that the debt is much higher. However, this is not the issue now as the debt concerns two spheres—one is civil production and the other one is the so-called special production.

The document we concluded concerns only the issues we agreed upon because there is still an entire package of problems on which we did not take any position in this document. This is because the Syrian side finds it rather difficult to deal right now with the debts that do not concern civilian production.

My view is that in the course of specific projects we have outlined, and through which we could establish ourselves, we should use every opportunity to draw their attention repeatedly to the debts created in the past. [end recording]

Minister: Debts Not Collectable

LD1212022092 Prague CSTK in English 2231 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] Prague/Damascus, Dec 11 (CTK)—Czechoslovak claims against Syria valued at nearly 1,000 million USD [U.S. dollars] are uncollectable, Czechoslovak Minister of Finance Jan Klak told CTK today.

A Czechoslovak Government delegation headed by federal Deputy Premier Rudolf Filkus returned today from Damascus after a six-day working visit to improve mutual economic relations between the two countries. The delegation arrived in Damascus Sunday [6 December].

Klak said he sees continued talks as one possible way to a resolution of Syrian debts to Czechoslovakia. I am not a pessimist about the future, because the situation that exists today may change. I do not think that our claims would be lost, he said.

He said the Syrians made talks about the payment of debts from civilian deliveries conditional on claims for military materiel being written off. In no case were we able to accept that, Klak emphasised, but he characterised as positive the fact that the Syrians finally expressed themselves unambiguously.

He said that with its difficult economic situation, Syria does not have the financial means to pay its debts. The payment of its debts, especially for military materiel, would establish a precedent for Syria's other creditors, Klak added.

For the future it would be useful if representatives from only one of Czechoslovakia's successor states, in this case the Czech Republic, negotiated the repayment of debts with Syrian representatives, Klak said. He added that at the talks in Damascus, Syrian Government representatives did not confirm that they would recognise the rights of succession of the Czech and Slovak Republics, including the transfer of all rights and obligations, but that he believed Syria would certainly recognise those rights.

Text of Czech-Slovak Friendship Treaty

AU1412061192 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 8 Dec 92 p 8

["Treaty Between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic on Good-Neighborly Relations, Friendship, and Cooperation," signed in Bratislava on 23 November]

[Text] The Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic (hereafter referred to as "the contracting parties"), resolved to build on the fruitful traditions of the long years of common history and on the rich experience from mutual cooperation between their nations, aware of the need for solidarity to secure for their nations a dignified place in Europe, confirming their unreserved respect for human rights and basic freedoms and the principles of democracy, humanism, and a law-governed state and expressing the conviction that compliance with them and their consistent implementation represent the foundation of freedom, justice, and peace, proceeding from the significant political and economic changes in Europe and from the rich experience of European states, firmly determined to contribute to the transformation of Europe into a united continent of peace, security, democracy, and prosperity, guided by the rules of international law as well as by the goals and principles embedded in the UN Charter, the Final Act, the Paris Charter for a New Europe, and other CSCE documents, seeking a comprehensive development of mutual relations and friendly cooperation in the spirit of good-neighborly relations and preserving all positive results of cooperation achieved heretofore as expressed, in particular, in previously concluded treaties and agreements, have agreed on the following:

Article 1

The contracting parties shall develop and strengthen their friendly relations and cooperation on the basis of mutual respect, trust, and understanding. They shall also support and coordinate each other's efforts for their full-fledged participation in the institutions of integrated Europe.

Article 2

In their mutual relations, as well as in their relations with other states, the contracting parties shall be guided by international law, particularly by the principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity and political independence, inviolability of state borders and noninterference in internal affairs.

The contracting parties confirm their common state borders. They do not have territorial claims toward each other nor will they raise such claims in the future.

Article 3

The contracting parties shall hold regular consultations at various levels to ensure the development of their mutual relations and to harmonize as much as possible their positions on international issues of common interest.

Consultations at the level of prime ministers shall take place as often as necessary, but at least once a year.

The ministers of foreign affairs shall meet for consultations at least once a year, during which they shall assess the implementation of this treaty.

Other ministers shall hold regular consultations.

According to need and on the basis of mutual agreement, the two contracting parties shall set up appropriate joint commissions.

Article 4

The contracting parties shall comprehensively assist in preserving and strengthening security and developing cooperation in Europe with the aim of establishing an effective all-European security system, particularly with a view to the peace and stability of the Central European region, to which they belong.

By means of binding and effectively verifiable agreements, they shall seek the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Europe to a level that is sufficient for defense but that does not permit aggression.

They shall also jointly strive to reinforce trust and stability on multilateral and bilateral foundations.

Article 5

The contracting parties shall hold regular consultations at various levels on questions of security and defense.

If one of the contracting parties determines that an international situation has arisen that can jeopardize or disrupt its sovereignty, territorial integrity, or other vitally important security interests, the two contracting parties shall immediately initiate consultations on the most effective ways of averting the threat.

In the event of an armed attack on one of the two contracting parties, the parties shall agree on the possibility of assisting the assaulted party according to Article 51 of the UN Charter and shall seek a resolution of the conflict in harmony with the principles of the UN Charter and CSCE documents.

According to need, the contracting parties shall initiate consultations also in the event of the emergence or endurance of another conflict or situation if they determine that peace and international security may be jeopardized or disrupted by it.

Article 6

The contracting parties shall develop mutually advantageous cooperation in the military sphere on the basis of special agreements between the pertinent ministries.

Article 7

The contracting parties shall support cooperation at the level of individual territorial and administrative subunits of the republics, including towns and communities.

The contracting parties shall seek the broad and effective participation of the entire society in mutual relations. They attribute special importance to contacts between the parliaments. They shall also establish essential conditions for the expansion of direct contacts between political parties and movements, trade unions, churches and religious communities, foundations, and other associations, and organizations.

In view of the special role of the young generation in shaping mutual relations, the contracting parties shall establish opportunities for comprehensive cooperation between the young people of both states.

Article 8

The contracting parties confirm that members of the Czech ethnic minority in the Slovak Republic and members of the Slovak ethnic minority in the Czech Republic have the right, both independently and together with other members of their group, to freely express, maintain, and develop their ethnic, cultural, language, and religious identity and develop their culture in every respect and free of any attempts at assimilation against their will.

The contracting parties shall respect rights and implement principles concerning ethnic minorities in harmony with international standards, particularly European standards.

The contracting parties declare that persons listed in the opening paragraph of this article particularly have the right, both independently and together with other members of their group:

—To freely use their mother tongue in private and in public and—next to the need to know the official language of the respective state—to use their mother tongue before state bodies in harmony with the inner-state legislation,

—To establish appropriate ways and means for the instruction of their mother tongue,

—To establish and maintain their own economic, educational, cultural, and religious institutions, organizations, and associations.

Affiliation to an ethnic minority is a matter of each citizen's personal choice and no disadvantages must arise for him from this affiliation.

The contracting parties agree that persons belonging to ethnic minorities are subject to the same rights and duties arising from their citizenship as other citizens of the state in question.

Article 9

The contracting parties shall promote personal contacts between citizens. With this in mind they commit themselves to establish appropriate conditions for the free movement of their citizens. They shall promote, in particular, the comprehensive development of group and individual contacts and various forms of direct social and economic cooperation in border areas.

Article 10

The contracting parties consider the development of economic cooperation to be one of the fundamental conditions of social progress.

Article 11

The contracting parties shall develop mutually advantageous economic and financial cooperation, including cooperation between regions. They shall contribute to direct cooperation between economic organizations of the two states. They ascribe special importance to cooperation based on the Customs Union Treaty Between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic.

The contracting parties shall seek to expand and improve cooperation in the area of rail, air, road, maritime, and inland water transportation.

The contracting parties shall seek to improve and expand mutual postal and telecommunications services in harmony with European and international technical norms.

With a view to a more detailed arrangement of cooperation, the contracting parties shall conclude special agreements adapted to the emerging single European economic organism.

Article 12

The contracting parties shall closely cooperate in the area of environmental protection.

They shall jointly forestall cross-border pollution and seek its reduction and elimination.

On the international, particularly European scale, the contracting parties shall seek the creation and implementation of a coordinated strategy for environmental care.

Detailed principles of cooperation in the area of the environment will be laid out in special agreements.

Article 13

The contracting parties agree to cooperate at all levels in preparing territorial projects and plans whose impact goes beyond the common border.

Article 14

The contracting parties shall promote and facilitate mutual scientific-technical cooperation. With this in mind they will conclude the appropriate agreements and undertake joint actions in implementing them.

The contracting parties shall support and establish conditions facilitating access to scientific institutions, archives, libraries, and similar facilities.

The contracting parties shall promote cooperation in the spheres of culture, science, and education. On the basis of agreements and programs, they will expand exchanges in all areas and at all levels and promote cooperation between artistic and other cultural institutions and organizations.

The contracting parties shall expand and support cooperation between schools of all types as well as between research institutes and organizations by means of exchanges of students, scholarships, teachers, and research fellows, as well as by means of joint research projects.

The contracting parties shall give support to the university studies of the Slovak language in the Czech Republic and the Czech language in the Slovak Republic.

In accordance with the appropriate agreements, the contracting parties shall mutually recognize documents certifying school graduation and university studies.

Article 15

The contracting parties shall strive to maintain cultural goods and monuments of the other contracting party on their territories.

Article 16

The contracting parties shall facilitate the flow of information about the social, political, economic, cultural, scientific, and other life of the other contracting party; in particular, they will ensure objective information on the other contracting party within the framework of the education and upbringing of young people, including textbooks.

The contracting parties shall promote cooperation in the sphere of the mass information media, particularly radio and television.

Article 17

The contracting parties shall promote cooperation in the sphere of health care and protection of public health, particularly in preventing and combating civilization diseases and contagious and other diseases.

The contracting parties shall cooperate and mutually assist one another during natural calamities and mass accidents.

The contracting parties shall seek cooperation in the sphere of social security.

Article 18

The contracting parties shall promote cooperation in the sphere of physical education, sports, and tourism.

Article 19

The contracting parties shall cooperate in the legal sphere on the basis of special agreements.

The contracting parties shall cooperate, in particular, in combating organized crime, terrorism, illegal narcotics trade, and the smuggling of objects of cultural and historical value. Cultural assets taken illegally out of the country will be returned to the other contracting party.

Article 20

This treaty is not directed against third states. It does not affect rights and commitments stemming from valid

bilateral and multilateral treaties and agreements concluded by the contracting parties with other states.

Article 21

This treaty is subject to ratification and will come into effect on the day of the exchange of ratification papers, which will take place as soon as possible.

This treaty is being concluded for a period of 15 years. Thereafter, its validity will always be extended by an additional five-year period, unless it is canceled by one of the contracting parties in writing no later than one year before the respective period of validity expires.

Set down in Bratislava on 23 November 1992 in two copies, each of them in the Czech and Slovak languages, and both of them being equally valid.

Meciar Rules Out Slovak Ministerial Changes

LD1312191292 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanice Slovensko Network in Slovak 0800 GMT 13 Dec 92

[Text] The last session this year of representatives of the Movement for Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] has ended in Smolenice.

HZDS Chairman, Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar said at a news conference at the end of the session that the participants in the session rejected a proposal that deputies to the Federal Assembly should form the second chamber of the National Council of the Slovak Republic. In his words, the representatives discussed the duties of the HZDS members in the Federal Government and the federal parliament connected with completely handing over powers to the successor republics.

In this connection, Vladimir Meciar said that he will appoint Milan Cic chairman of the Constitutional Court and Rudolf Filkus will most likely be ambassador in Austria.

The HZDS chairman ruled out any personnel changes in the management of ministries. The Ministry of Defense will, however, be added to the present ministries. It will be headed by a professional soldier because according to the prime minister, it is important that the department be headed by an expert.

Vladimir Meciar also talked about the bugging of the U.S. Consulate General In Bratislava and stressed yet again that it was a clear provocation against Slovakia perpetrated by persons unknown.

Session Discusses Payments on Government Credits

AU1112141892 Prague CTK in English 2122 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Prague, Dec 9 (CTK)—At its regular session today, the Czechoslovak Government approved proceedings in the discussion of a successor to the treaty on accepted government credits.

In 1991 and 1992, Czechoslovakia accepted a total of seven long-term credits from the European Community and G-24 countries. The credits were determined for balance of payment support. Loans were provided on advantageous conditions, and are, with the exception of those from Japan, to be paid in full in 1998 and 1999.

The government is inquiring into the results of controls on the utilisation of foreign aid to control state administrative organs in preparing and realising the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] program.

The government agreed with the reimbursement of 18,557 USD [U.S. dollars] of Czechoslovak contributions used to cover expenses of an international conference on the former Yugoslavia. It ordered the Czechoslovak foreign affairs minister to reimburse the Czechoslovak contribution from the ministry's 1992 budget.

The conference was held in August 1992 in London. Czechoslovak Minister of Foreign Affairs Josef Moravcik participated in the capacity of council chairman of the ministers of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The government agreed to pardon debts of about 7,000 million crowns (approx. 225 million USD) owed the federal state budget by the state-run CSD (Czechoslovak Railroad).

CSD has been in a difficult financial situation for a number of years. The company showed losses of 1,800 million crowns (60 million USD) in 1990, and 7,600 million crowns (250 million USD) in 1991. In 1992, losses of 3,000 million crowns (110 million USD) are expected. Economic losses in 1990, 1991, and 1992 were primarily due to price increases and a decrease in the volume of freight transport.

The government agreed to a proposal by the Czechoslovak Red Cross to provide 1 million crowns (33,000 USD) in emergency humanitarian aid to Somalia.

The Czechoslovak Red Cross is preparing 35.5 tonnes of humanitarian aid, consisting of rice, flour, sugar, beans, tin dishes, and blankets. The Czechoslovak Government is meeting expenses connected with extra flights from the federal budget reserve. The flights will be secured by Federal Defence Ministry planes.

Minister Outlines Czech Citizenship Conditions

AU1112142092 Prague CTK in English 2010 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Prague, Dec 9 (CTK)—Slovak citizens desiring Czech citizenship after the Federation ends January 1, 1993, must have lived uninterruptedly in the Czech Republic for two years, according to a draft law approved today by the Czech Government, Czech Minister of the Interior Jan Ruml told journalists.

The law states that a person may claim Czech citizenship by birth, a determination of paternity or orphanage on the territory of the Czech Republic, by declaration or by conferment.

Ruml said citizens of the Slovak Republic may choose Czech citizenship by declaring it no later than December 31, 1993. They must also have lived uninterruptedly on the territory of the Czech Republic for two years and submit a document renouncing their loyalty to the Slovak Republic. Slovak applicants for Czech citizenship also may not have been convicted for premeditated criminal activity within the past five years. The same conditions apply to Slovak citizens who were citizens of a third country, Ruml said.

He added that district offices are currently receiving several hundred requests daily for Czech citizenship, and that applicants should be notified within 60 days from the date of their application. The draft law does not address fees for granting citizenship, Ruml said. He sees no reason to change their current level. We don't want citizens of Slovakia to pay 2,000 crowns like a foreigner (about 70 USD [U.S. dollars]), he said.

The new law goes into effect January 1, 1993, Ruml said.

* * *

The Czech Ministry of the Interior will take over the functions of the Federal Ministry of the Interior after January 1, 1993, including patrolling the state borders, foreigner affairs, and organised crime, Ruml said.

To this end, 13,000 Federal Interior Ministry employees will be transferred to the Czech Interior Ministry, he added.

Ruml also said that Slovak citizens now in the service of the Czech Police will end their service June 30, 1993, unless they have become Czech citizens by that time.

Three Conditions

LD1112140892 Prague CTK in English
1240 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] Prague, Dec 11 (CTK)—Slovak citizens seeking citizenship of the Czech Republic after Czechoslovakia's split on January 1993 must hand in an application not later than December 31, 1992 and fulfill three conditions.

Under a bill on state citizenship, to be passed by the Czech parliament by the end of the year, a Slovak citizen desiring Czech citizenship must have lived uninterruptedly in the Czech Republic for two years. He or she must also present a document releasing him or her from all obligations to the Slovak state. He or she need not present this document if a request for release from all obligations to Slovakia has not been granted within three months. In that case the citizen only makes an honorary statement before a district council that he or she renounces citizenship of the Slovak Republic.

The third condition is that a Slovak applicant may not have been convicted for a premeditated criminal offence within the past five years.

A Czech citizen can lose citizenship by being released from all obligation to the Czech Republic, through a mere declaration or by acquiring citizenship of another state, if this has not happened through marriage or birth.

The bill also sets out conditions for foreigners from third countries to acquire Czech citizenship.

These include uninterrupted permanent residence in the Czech Republic for at least five years, a certificate on the release from all obligations to a foreign state, and proof of no conviction for a premeditated criminal offence while staying in the Czech Republic.

Czech authorities will insist on the general condition of a permanent two-year residence, but in individual cases, for example on humanitarian grounds, a minister may make an exception.

Government Approves Bill for Army, Ministries

LD1312213792 Prague CTK in English
2103 GMT 13 Dec 92

[Text] Prague, Dec 13 (CTK)—The Czech Government today approved a bill, which provides for the establishment of the Army of the Czech Republic and anchors who will become its member.

The cabinet approved a bill on setting up Czech ministries and other bodies of the Czech Republic's state administration. Other documents approved by the government at its special session in Prague today include materials on the course of action in taking over commitments ensuing from agreements on credits received by the Czechoslovak Government, a Czech Government statement on the international recognition of the Czech Republic and establishment of diplomatic relations with other countries, measures to ensure the Czech Republic's membership of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank and European Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

During a break in the cabinet's session, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus told journalists that the statement on the Czech Republic's international recognition will be sent to all ambassadors accredited in Czechoslovakia.

The cabinet also discussed power-sharing laws, for instance the division of powers between the International Relations Ministry and the Ministry of Industry and Trade, said Klaus.

Also approved was a memorandum to the IMF on the basis of which the Czech Republic ought to become a member of the IMF as of January 1 of next year when the Czechoslovak Federation splits into two independent states.

Klaus informed journalists that the Czech Government will discuss the incorporation of federal parliament deputies to the Senate of the future Czech parliament.

Republican Leader To Run for Czech President

LD1112223892 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 2130 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] Miroslav Sladek, chairman of the Association for the Republic of the Republican Party of Czechoslovakia, will run for Czech president. He announced this in Kosice in an interview given to CTK. At the same time, he stresssed that his party was against the transformation of the Federal Assembly of deputies to the Czech National Council. At a meeting with the Kosice public, attended by about 150 to 200 people, Sladek predicted early parliamentary elections in the spring of 1993 and the reunification of the Czech Republic and Slovakia. He said Vaclav Klaus and the Civic Democratic Party carried the greatest blame for the division of the state.

Hungarian Parties Favor Creation of Slovak Senate

LD1312221992 Prague CTK in English 2015 GMT 13 Dec 92

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 13 (CTK)—Chairman of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement (MKDH) Bela Bugar told CTK today that the creation of a second chamber in the future Slovak Parliament would be acceptable for the Hungarian coalition.

He said Hungarian parties' voters do not want to lose the deputies they have elected. However, he said, being a coalition with a low number of seats in the Slovak Parliament, the Hungarian parties cannot do much to prevent this loss (the MKDH is in a coalition with the Egyuetteles movement and the Hungarian People's Party).

Bugar said that the transfer of financial means currently being allocated on federal parliament deputies to individual political parties might help the parties but it cannot compensate for the loss of mandates of deputies who have certain powers in representing their voters.

Bugar said new parliamentary elections would be the most reasonable decision after the end of the Federation. However, the strongest political forces disagree both with calling the new elections and with incorporating of federal parliament deputies in the Slovak parliament, he added.

The leadership of the ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) decided yesterday not to recommend their deputies in the Slovak parliament to approve a proposal about the creation of a second chamber in the future Slovak parliament.

IMF Optimistic About Slovak Economic Outlook

AU1112142492 Prague CTK in English 1745 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 9 (CTK)—Slovakia's national income is not lower than such income in the Czech Republic and happens to be considerably higher than the national income of Hungary, the Executive Director of the International Monetary Fund For Central Europe Jacques De Groot said here today while on a visit to the Slovak parliament.

Therefore, Slovakia should not be discriminated against when compared to the Czech Republic and its other neighbours, De Groot added.

These and other De Groot's statements were relayed to CTK by the press secretary to the chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic Lubomir Jurik. Jurik further quoted the IMF official as saying that the outlook for Slovakia was better than generally expected, especially for its economy in the long term.

De Groot also told the Slovak Parliament Chairman Ivan Gasparovic to set up a programme, which could distribute IMF funds. Gasparovic believes that the positive economic evaluation expressed by the IMF official could be viewed as an impetus for foreign investors. The legislator also informed the IMF that laws to protect foreign investments were currently on the parliament's agenda.

Gasparovic later spoke with a Slovak municipalities' delegation about budgetary matters. Its members told him that Slovak municipalities are currently in a dire need of 4,000 million crowns (138 million USD [U.S. dollars]).

Hungary Reassures Slovakia Over Army Movements

LD1312192192 Prague CTK in English 1848 GMT 13 Dec 92

[Text] Prague, Dec 13 (CTK)—The deployment of several Hungarian military units towards the state border with Slovakia was part of the relocation of the Hungarian Army units, Hungarian Deputy Defence Minister Jozsef Kelemen told CTK in Vyskov, south Moravia today.

Kelemen attended a conference of the Czechoslovak Army's Career Soldiers Association held in Vyskov at the close of the week.

Just as in Czechoslovakia, the Army units are being relocated also in Hungary so that they are stationed equally on the whole territory of the state, Kelemen said.

On October 20, the Slovak Radio reported that military equipment is being stationed on the Hungarian side of the Gabcikovo dam. Immediately after the information was revealed, however, it was rejected. The Hungarian Defence Ministry then told the Czechoslovak military attache in Budapest that the Hungarian Army is not conducting any extraordinary activities along the border with Slovakia in the Gabcikovo area.

State Secretary Meets President Bush

LD1312190592 Budapest MTI in English 1830 GMT 13 Dec 92

[Text] Washington, December 13 (MTI)—"It is said that things go well in Hungary," U.S. President George Bush told State Secretary Gyula Kodolanyi, foreign political advisor to Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, who was in the United States on a week's visit.

Attending a reception of the National Security Council, Kodolanyi repeatedly thanked Bush for what the United States had done for the new Hungary and rapprochement between the two countries in recent years, and also for his earlier reply letter to Antall. The correspondence concerned the successful development of bilateral links.

At the reception, Kodolanyi conferred with national security advisor Brent Scowcroft and Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, and discussed Hungary's participation in the Somalian mission with David Gompert, presidential advisor of the National Security Council.

According to the U.S. position, Hungary's participation planned at Bush's request will probably be required later on, as part of the UN peace-keeping force. (They would go to Somalia after the withdrawal of the U.S. troops and the consolidation of conditions, with the UNO covering their expenditures.)

Kodolanyi later told MTI, in reply to a question concerning next week's Washington meeting between the Central European Initiative (CEI) foreign ministers and Bush, that the foreign ministers aim to give voice—as they pointed out during their latest conference in Graz—to the concern of the front countries neighbouring on the crisis zone in the Balkans over the worsening situation there, and to directly inform the U.S. President on their ideas and proposals.

The foreign ministers are expected to outline the burdens the refugee problem imposes on them, besides the political consequences, as well as the effects of the embargo on Serbia which—through the stoppage of transit traffic—has caused Hungary losses in the range of hundreds of millions of dollars so far, Kodolanyi said.

Prior to Washington, Hungary's Geza Jeszenszky and his Austrian, Polish, Slovenian and possibly Croatian colleagues, are scheduled to discuss the South Slav crisis with UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali in New York on December 21.

Kodolanyi has left Washington for Budapest.

Cites Talks With U.S. Officials

LD1212152592 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 12 Dec 92

[Text] During his negotiations in Washington, Gyula Kodolanyi, adviser to the prime minister, was informed that the Americans want to put things in order in Somalia by themselves. In other words, they do not require the participation of Hungarian troops in the peacekeeping forces. Our correspondent Gabor Nemes asked Janos Herman, the Foreign Ministry spokesman, whether the statement means an unambiguous rejection.

[Begin recording] It cannot be understood this way. I think that it is a perfectly sober and natural approach just now because, after all, we are talking about such a humanitarian military operation which, although it is taking place at the UN's request, it is nonetheless being carried out primarily under U.S. leadership and, decisively, with U.S. participation.

Two interests surface here simultaneously. On the one hand, a political interest aimed at obtaining the widest possible international political support for this action. Hungary has offered such support and, at America's request, it made clear its willingness that if necessary it is ready to participate in this operation in a practical form too—and this received a favorable response.

There is also a military interest, and here mainly practical considerations are kept in view. It must be said that by last Friday [11 December] 30 countries had signalled their readiness to participate in this action. It is very likely that not all 30 countries will be able to participate, but the number of these countries can even increase further in the coming days. It is obvious that first of all those countries can be involved also in the practical side of the operation, those having units capable of mobilizing speedily for such a purpose, countries which can finance their participation. [end recording]

Delays Reported at Borders With Romania, CSFR

LD1312210992 Budapest MTI in English 1929 GMT 13 Dec 92

[Text] Budapest, December 13 (MTI)—The national headquarters of the Hungarian Customs and Excise Office denied the customs commander of Bors, Octavian Chirodea, as saying to ROMPRES that Hungary is responsible for the several days of waiting by trucks at the border station.

Customs officials told MTI on Sunday [13 December] that, according to a local report from 12 am, cars entering Hungary via Bors, southern Hungary, have to wait 5 hours and buses 120 minutes on the Romanian side.

Trucks have to wait 12 hours for entry and 10 hours for exit at Bors. The delay is reportedly due to slow work by the Romanian authorities and the limited capacity of the border crossing.

Reports about similarly long waiting times were received from the county headquarters based in the south Hungarian town of Szeged. Vehicles at Gyula and Nagylak are held up for several hours because of the Romanian side's incapacity to receive them. Lorries at Nagylak can cross to Romania only after 30 hours of forced idling.

About 150 trucks each are waiting at parking places near the north Hungarian border crossings of Rajka and Vamosszabadi. The reason for the delay is the Czechoslovak decision not to allow vehicles heavier than 7.5 tonnes into the country from 7 am on Saturday to 2200 pm on Sunday, and on holidays, as of December 3, Hungarian Border Guard spokesman Colonel Attila Krisan told MTI on Sunday afternoon.

Some 40 trucks are expected to arrive at both crossings by Sunday evening, Krisan added.

Deportation Agreement Signed With Croatia

LD1012170692 Budapest MTI in English 1734 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Budapest, December 9 (MTI)—A deportation agreement between Hungary and Croatia was signed by Interior Minister Peter Boross in Zagreb on Wednesday [9 December]. Boross paid a one-day working visit to the Croatian capital. Under the agreement, the two parties must take back illegal aliens who left for the other country from their territory.

Similar agreements are in effect with Romania, Austria and Slovenia.

Boross also signed an accord on Interior Ministry cooperation covering expert consultations.

Article Describes State of Visegrad Process

AU1312214992 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 Dec 92 p 18

[Article by Zsuzsa Regos: "Forced Integration—What Is in the Visegrad Covenant?"]

[Text] Against their desire, the Visegrad Trio was established by EC diplomats. They thought that, with the collapse of CEMA, the economies of states that had turned their backs on each other could complement each other well. No doubt, this forced marriage could have numerous advantages. The protracted free trade negotiations, however, show that the traditions are quite different. Experts gathered at the World Economic Research Institute in Budapest at the beginning of this week analyzed the state and prospects of their economies.

According to the official statements, free trade negotiations have been protracted because of the separation of the CSFR. Therefore, it is impossible to fulfill the original deadline of the tripartite agreement, namely January 1993. There are deeper reasons for this delay, however. The differences in the levels of economic restructuring is one of the major causes for the delay, because financial methods and opportunities for restructuring are quite different in the three countries.

Along with a restrictive financial policy, Hungary chose an active influx of foreign capital. Struggling with a domestic policy crisis, the Polish Government only had the strength to maintain the current level of inflation and unemployment, 40 percent and 12-13 percent respectively. So far, Poland has only been able to inject $740 million of foreign capital into its economy and most of this amount has been used up by the flourishing banking sector.

The CSFR maintained the good old system of central control: It exercised strong control over the amount of money in circulation and on interest rates. With this system, they succeeded in avoiding the wave of bankruptcies characteristic of Poland and Hungary. So far, the parliamentary deputies busy with the separation of the CSFR have not dealt much with developing their market economy. Thus, it is clear that inflation and unemployment is 2-3 percent in the Czech lands, and 10 percent in the more backward Slovakia. Foreign capital does not play a considerable role in the economy of these two areas. Some $1.1 billion in foreign capital has made it into the CSFR so far, mostly originating from the sale of the Skoda factory that is still losing money.

The internal convertibility of national currencies and a gradual liberalization of foreign trade have been carried out in the three countries in recent years. Thus, theoretically, a financial union can be created even without foreign convertibility because the clearing agreements that replace the dollar could promote mutual trade. In fact, there is a lot to improve. At present, the two economies make up 4.7-4.8 percent of Hungary's foreign trade turnover, 10 percent of the CSFR foreign trade, and 4.1-4.3 percent of Poland's foreign trade. Hungary, which is giving up its subsidies almost entirely, could benefit from this marriage because central subsidies are quite high in the other two countries, primarily in the CSFR. This is precisely one of the most sensitive points in the free trade negotiations. The fact that the dismantling of customs barriers in the former CEMA member states is progressing extremely slowly is a limiting factor. This process is so slow that the formerly preferred Hungarian pharmaceutical products are finding it increasingly difficult to penetrate the Polish market. With the appearance of high customs rates, Hungarian products have come into disadvantageous competition with EC products.

The fact that the EC uses the cumulative principle of origin could promote cooperation among the three countries. If at least half of a product is made up of Hungarian, Polish, or CSFR components, the EC will allow this product free access to their markets. Therefore, it is not accidental that the Suzuki factory, which is having troubles with Hungarian suppliers, is considering the use of Czech-Slovak manufacturers.

The positive image of the CSFR economy could be misleading. Almost everything is static behind the relatively low inflation and unemployment and the relatively balanced state budget. Only the $9 billion debt shows that delaying the restructuring process has a big price. The fifth wave of the so-called coupon-based privatization in November, a privatization that is distributing

property free of charge, threatens the unsuspecting population with unpredictable losses, a population that is purchasing firms full of potential bankruptcy bombs.

In Poland's case, the sale of enterprises after liquidation seems to be the preferred and most rational solution. Privatization aimed at restructuring has not yet come into vogue in any of the three countries. It is also a common feature that none of these countries has succeeded in involving private savings into the economy. Nor has the budget reform been carried out, and this makes the future rather slippery, particularly because of the unsettled matter of social security.

In spite of the similarities and differences, the trio or even a quartet could nevertheless emerge. Some people claim that the partnership agreements between the EC and Visegrad Trio only serve to make sure that the "bawd" maintains a distance from its partners. If this is true, it is in the basic interest of the Visegrad states to cooperate and create real eastern central European integration out of this forced marriage.

President Goncz Interviewed on 1992 Events

LD1212185392 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0915 GMT 12 Dec 92

[Interview with Hungarian President Arpad Goncz by correspondent Istvan Wisinger at presidential residence on 12 December—live]

[Excerpts] [Wisinger] I greet the listeners and I greet President of the Republic Arpad Goencz, whose residence on Szabadsag Hill we visit this time, again for 40 minutes, in a live broadcast.

This time, in the last days of the year, it is customary worldwide that the leader of a country gives his opinion on the 12 months left behind us. [passage omitted] What was 1992 like in Hungary for you?

[Goncz] I think it fitted into Europe's year of 1992, which was characterized by recession, to a certain extent sorrow felt for the unfulfilled expectations, occasionally by emotions which got out of hand, and dehumanization to a certain extent. Hungary's borders are as open as any other country's borders. What runs through Europe runs through us as well. To the east and to the north, there are disturbed zones and quite bad winds are blowing from the west as well; we ourselves have felt these winds. The year was no better than the previous one. If I were to describe it, I would call it the year of stagnation. In a certain way, the toughening political life, the toughening of its voice, is even worse.

We started off the new order in 1989 having common aims, and they are common now too. We determined exactly, with the consensus of every political force, in which direction we had to go. We have to advance in the direction of Europe, we have to advance in the direction of the consolidation of democracy. It cannot be achieved in any other way but by joint effort. I feel pain at the lack of this joint effort. [passage omitted]

[Wisinger] [passage omitted] Who makes politics in Hungary? Whom can the Hungarian citizen think of justifiably with discontent if he thinks that laws are passed not for him but against him, if they are selling the factories and workplaces over his head, or levy heavy taxes on him? [passage omitted]

[Goncz] The natural scapegoat, whom they can see, is of course, the legislature. If I trace back a bit deeper to see what caused all this I find that the worldwide recession is to be blamed partly. [passage omitted]

[Wisinger] Can I put this conflict situation, which you expressed in connection with the political elite, into tougher words? I feel that the political elite let down the working masses, that mass to which stratum and mass it gave promises before the elections. [passage omitted] When can the people say that those they had voted for can be called to account?

[Goncz] I would not call it letting down. I think it would be unfair toward this elite. This political elite could not foresee what fate had in store for Europe and within Europe, and similarly our region for Hungary, just as the—let me call him—ordinary citizen whose information may be more restricted, could not. [passage omitted] People are capable of realizing that the retaining of agricultural cooperatives, in an agricultural system where more than 90 percent of the machinery is for large-scale production...[Goncz changes thought] At present no other path seems to be showing up, just the possibility of staying together and working together. [passage omitted]

The three areas, the three aspects of the country, which can be separated, since everything is interconnected—the sphere of politics, the sphere of the economy, and the sphere of society—are connected with strange and invisible ties, and it is almost unforeseeable how one influences the other. I am convinced that it is society that is the healthiest and the strongest among them. [passage omitted]

[Wisinger] Let me try to formulate, translate to the language of the man in the street, the problems of the three spheres. I will make my question a short one, very brief, because I am interested in what answers you give. In your opinion, is there a real danger of Hungary getting involved in a war in the forseeable future?

[Goncz] I consider it impossible because, on the one hand, my impression is that Hungarian society would not tolerate it, and on the other hand neither the military nor the political situation is such that any neighboring country could afford it. Whereas a hot war is going on next to us, in Yugoslavia, the war is moving away from us. Let us remember that even a year ago, 18 months ago, we could hear continuous fire on the other side of the border and bullets which lost their way crossed over to

Hungary. The situation in Yugoslavia has not improved, but fighting goes on in Bosnia now, further away from Hungary.

[Wisinger] In the course of history, there have been quite a lot of provocations. If it happened, who would give the order to the Hungarian Army?

[Goncz] Let us separate the practical side of it. The border guard who is standing on the border is obliged to shoot if there is a shot across the border. But then the National Assembly has to make a decision.

[Wisinger] In the Hungarian National Assembly, and outside of it as well, there has been a lot of talk about the danger of the extreme left, about the rollback. You recently met Yeltsin. Can this kind of extreme left-wing rollback happen with assistance from the Soviet Union or Russia? What is your impression? Is it conceivable?

[Goncz] Outside the borders of the Soviet Union, or practically the former Soviet region—I mean outside the borders of the Soviet Union taken in the strict sense—I consider it completely unthinkable. Historical experience within these countries does not allow it on the one hand, and on the other hand they cannot expect support from that area; Europe practically would not tolerate it. I am not afraid of the revival of any kind of extreme left-wing—Stalinism. I have to say that I am not afraid of it within the Soviet Union itself either. I have met Yeltsin. I do not know whether it is allowed in politics, after a brief meeting, to say that my impression is that we said goodbye to each other as friends. He made an impression on me that he is absolutely self-confident, he has a certain bearing in a very positive sense. He insists on his own words, and in order to keep to his words he is able to set himself against those who surround him and his advisers. He has such a human warmness which can only be described by saying that he has a great Slav soul. [passage omitted]

[Wisinger] Mr. President, it is well known that you are the chief commander of the Army. Nevertheless, if something happened, do you have any means of ensuring that the Hungarian Army does not become irresponsibly involved in some kind of military conflict?

[Goncz] I do.

[Wisinger] That is reassuring. Let us turn to internal political problems then. The second question which the man in the street formulates: How can the further deterioration of public security be prevented, how can one prevent, for example, the larger part of the country becoming completely impoverished as a result of the introduction of a new, unknown tax system; I emphasize the larger part of society. That is to say, can a complete breakdown of economic stability be prevented?

[Goncz] Here you have asked two questions. [passage omitted] Well, let us divide the matter of public security into two questions. One is the question of organized crime, which is related to the opening up of the borders, to the economic instability of the surrounding countries, to the fact that Hungary, whether it wants it or not, has become a part of a wild east, to a certain extent. The elimination of this is a police matter to a significant extent. However, I would consider it very wise if the police received training for this task, for which it has not been prepared earlier, as the phenomena itself did not previously exist. For this there is a need to join forces on an international level too. Let us take the other side of the question, that a certain part of society is forced to commit crimes. I am talking about the black train commuters [low standard commuting train carrying mainly unskilled workers to Budapest from the periphery of the country] who have fallen on hard times, who have no hope of selling their labor because the economy no longer needs it. [passage omitted] Unfortunately these people create social tension, and not just with regard to small-scale crime. These social tensions are expressed in violence as well and are extremely dangerous. This is a police matter, but it is primarily a social matter. That is to say, the very roots of the phenomena have to be explored and eliminated. [passage omitted]

[Wisinger] Let us turn to the third area I consider important, namely the functioning or not of democracy. Here I would mention the events of the past week. For me, the struggles around radio and television are an example of the functioning or nonfunctioning of democracy. It is not a personal matter, and not—as it is nowadays called in Hungary—a media war. [passage omitted] Do you think you have committed any mistakes in connection with the media issue?

[Goncz] Permit me not to judge my own activity; presumably it will be judged by time or by parliament. I submitted to parliament a two-part proposal which would take the task of appointing people away from the government and from me. I myself am prepared to renounce a part of my work, or more precisely a part of my sphere of authority, so that the demand of impartiality can be asserted, under supervision, in the mode of appointments at the public service radio and television and at MTI. I am not sure that recent events, those of the past two days, have brought things closer to a solution, just as I am not certain that the government has chosen the wisest solution. I fear that the matter of impartiality in Hungarian radio and television cannot really be resolved through police means or judicial means. The way for this is through legislation.

On the one hand, resolving the matter of the media law—and parliament is already late regarding the adoption of this; it has committed an infringement of the constitution by not having adopted it yet. On the other hand, it is a question of other legislative matters. [passage omitted]

[Wisinger] Let us talk about something which did happen. Do you accept the stance of Elemer Hankiss [suspended TV president] that only you are his boss and nobody else?

[Goncz] At this moment this question is completely open, because there is a legal loophole, an enormous gaping legal loophole. As I am neither a legislator nor a member of the independent judiciary, I cannot bridge this gap. This gap must be bridged in an analogous or other way. It is primarily the media president—or the now suspended media president—or the government which is in a position to initiate this, to clarify this. There cannot perhaps be a final solution, a legal solution, until they resolve this, either in an analogous or legislative way.

[Wisinger] As far as I can see, relations between the head of state and the prime minister are untenably bad. Who, in your opinion, is responsible for this?

[Goncz] Well, if you consider them to be untenably bad, then obviously both sides.

[Wisinger] Talks on the media issue have broken off, and it was the broken off talks which led to, for example yesterday...

[Goncz, interrupting] I continue to be ready for coordination between us on any question. [passage omitted]

[Wisinger] A study appeared in August which advised the police to move into the television center. Yesterday, when I came out of the television building, plainclothes detectives looked me over. So this lot have achieved what they wanted.

[Goncz] Following this, I have to believe that the writer of the study predicted accurately, because he foresaw that the police would go in.

[Wisinger] And tell me, Mr. President, is this all right?

[Goncz] I can imagine other solutions.

[Wisinger] You are also now under attack, have been attacked, by those who for example were with you in prison. How do you bear up under these attacks?

[Goncz] My dear friend, we live in a pluralist democracy, and I have always been a believer in a pluralist democracy. I do not know of anything in the constitution which obliges any single Hungarian citizen to like me or to necessarily consider what I do to be right.

[Wisinger] I would like to bring up another specific example. One of the members of the government criticized you on television on Thursday [10 December] for having sent the Yeltsin documents [on 1956] where you did with some kind of ulterior motive.

[Goncz] Naturally I had a secondary motive, which was to hand them over to the best people, and for them to appear in January. [passage omitted] If my secondary motive was that everybody should be able to see these documents, then my secondary motive has been fulfilled, for anyone can check, anyone can see them, and this is not restricted. You can go in and see them, just as Mr. Fonay or the prime minister can. [passage omitted]

Do the examples I have just given, which are part of Hungarian reality, not suggest that it is not a question of radio or television? Is it not that the president of the republic, Arpad Goncz, should give in and do what the government expects? As it has been up to now, Arpad Goncz will do what he himself considers morally correct, and which in his opinion the legal order, the legal rule, and the Constitution permit. Doubts may be raised. Arpad Goncz has no intention of resigning because somebody happens to find fault with what his conscience has dictated. People can be persuaded but not coerced to do anything.

[Wisinger] How do you assess the public mood in Hungary, on the basis of the situation which has developed over the past week?

[Goncz] [passage omitted] I do not think that the events of the past few days have had a reassuring effect on the country as a whole, though I am sure there is a section who are pleased about this. [passage omitted]

Antall on Political Conflicts, Security Issues

LD1212230892 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1735 GMT 12 Dec 92

[Interview with Hungarian Prime Minister Josef Antall by unidentified correspondent in Budapest, date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Mr. Prime Minister. The Presidium of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] held a session yesterday evening and decided that there will be no vice presidents. Thus, Istvan Csurka is no longer a vice president. On the other hand, since you had unsuccessful talks with President Arpad Goncz at the turn of November-December, measures related to the television issue have been flooding in. People, I imagine, think that there is some connection here. According to bitter opposition views, it is all about the fact that you entered into battle with Istvan Csurka in the way that you undertook to implement his program.

[Antall] As it is always quoted and I have also read about the fact that a collection has been made from my phrases, I have to say that it is stupidity, consequently, it is out of question. On the one hand, it is obvious that at its session at the end of the two-year cycle, the National Board is trying to solve every political problem. It decided in this situation that the National Board, which held plenary sessions in the past weeks because it was no longer operating as an executive presidium, on the dissolution of the Executive Presidium, which is elected by the National Board from its own body, abolished this, and approved a solution whereby the president remains the one elected by the National Board, that is the executive president, who in fact in another party has also licences to fill the post of general secretary.

[Correspondent] It is Lajos Fur.

[Antall] Yes, it is Lajos Fur. The vice presidents who composed the Executive Presidium in a certain rotation system [word indistinct] had been abolished by this time, therefore these questions cannot arise as a problem. By the way, all the recent speculation in connection with the vice president post and the remarks in the foreign press and elsewhere—as if the MDF had had only one vice president while it had six vice presidents, apart from the executive president—were also ridiculous. [passage omitted]

At the same time it is obvious that Istvan Csurka's membership in the Presidium, just as that of Imre Furman and anyone else, remains intact. Here it should be said that the Presidium of the MDF is assigned by the National Board, and within that it can elect from its own body as many vice presidents as it pleases, as well as an executive chairman. Now we consider this political and organizational solution to be the best, and they will continue to carry on with their special tasks as Presidium members.

[Correspondent] However, once you made a remark, perhaps out of disappointment, that you had had enough of having to give explanations throughout the world owing to certain statements. Well, if Istvan Csurka is no longer vice president, then perhaps you will not have to explain so much.

[Antall] I said it publicly in a lecture, not secretly. In that connection I outlined our differences of view on this. I would like to add that on the one hand I regard it as a disproportion that with his article—and it would hardly have happened without domestic help and support—Istvan Csurka achieved the status that, since Lajos Kossuth, no Hungarian politician has been written about this much or mentioned in so many reports. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] The Csurka study can also be interpreted in a way that he, in a certain sense, gave an ultimatum to the government that if it does not change its policy radically and does not show force—according to some interpretations it means that if it fails to apply dictatorial means—then the remains of the MDF, as he put it, will split from him and he will run in the elections with a clean sheet, as if he had nothing to do with what happened in the past two years.

[Antall] This, for instance, is something which is obviously an incorrect part of the study from the political viewpoint, and falls right into the category whereby Istvan Csurka's comments did not do any good to the MDF. Istvan Csurka should have by all means submitted this study, which deals with the MDF's internal organizational or internal political problems, to the MDF Presidium instead of unexpectedly publishing it without any MDF Presidium member ever seeing or knowing of this study. We all learned about it when he published it. [passage omitted]

Yes, there are rumors like this. It was also asked if we were carrying out Csurka's program. This is absolutely wrong. What is more, I can say that after 20 August, Istvan Csurka's article has indeed hampered us in making the political way we regard as practical and right in the matter of television and radio, and in every other respect. A by-product of Istvan Csurka's article is that it did in fact solve an internal crisis of the Alliance of Free Democrats, at least to the extent of an internal election of officials. As regards the measures in the matter of television and radio and other measures, it much rather influenced the government and the policy of the MDF in a disadvantageous way, because every step made after 20 August in this respect could only be carried out in the light or shadow of the Csurka study, and it gave an excellent opportunity for saying that now the implementation of the Csurka program is being carried out. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] What is the problem with Elemer Hankiss [TV president], if I may ask this silly question? You recently stated in the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG that Hankiss and Gombar [radio president], are hindering the realization of the freedom of press. [passage omitted]

[Antall] I have said and I can only repeat that in my view the unbiased reporting of news, the freedom of commentaries, their balance, were not fulfilled and are not fulfilled today, either in the operation of radio and television, and this is what I find bad from the viewpoint of the freedom of press.

However, in this connection I wish to note that it was not us who took measures but it was the president of television who dismissed journalists, and it was he who removed people in whose manifestations or programs he found faults.

[Correspondent] Do you consider those dismissed, and their programs, unbiased?

[Antall] This is not for me to say, that would mean I would be interfering.

[Correspondent] I see.

[Antall] I stated the principles and I state that we have to ensure the ability to function, the appropriate framework, and that all the aforementioned should be observed. This is a basic demand, not only from public service radio and television, but from the press in general.

[Correspondent] Mr. Prime Minister, I have another question regarding this issue, namely that you say you are not covering government television.

[Antall] Yes.

[Correspondent] Is this whole media dispute in the parliament and also in the street, so to speak, not about the fact that the government should control television after all? Is it not the reason that because of the lack of a media law you cannot agree on who should appoint the leaders of the media?

[Antall] This is not the case. It is not the government's task, just like it is not the aim of a research institute that the research should be pro-government. The task is to comply with certain principles and the legal framework, thus this is the case with radio and television. We have not set any such demand and we have not had any request in contrast with the above. Thus I believe this allegation has no foundation at all.

[Correspondent] I remember way back in the time of the opposition roundtable, when Elemer Hankiss acted as media expert, that you were on very friendly terms. I felt it was a warm, friendly relationship, I do not know how well you knew each other. This has now gone sour. Another friendship also broke up—with Arpad Goncz—as far as one can see. How do you feel about this personally?

[Antall] [passage omitted] For me the issues which are theoretical or constitutional matters are not matters of friendship. Regardless of the friendly tone or friendly atmosphere of the talks one must act on conviction. Thus in this case, regardless of the length of time I have known Elemer Hankiss, or of the fact that we were together at the opposition roundtable talks, and of our personal relationship, regardless of all this, when such a situation evolves—and when I was convinced of the fact of unsuitability—then I submitted my proposal to Parliament and Arpad Goncz on the basis of Law No. 57 of 1990 regarding the unsuitability.

Regardless of the fact that I have known Arpad Goncz for several decades, and it is known that our personal relationship was also good, now in this situation one must not look at or examine friendship but the constitutional situation which has evolved. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] It is rather great, since I do work here, but I do not want to make this general. I do need to make money for another year due to family reasons, so there will be a freedom of press for another year, will there not, Mr. Prime Minister?

[Antall] Well, with us there will definitely be a freedom of press, and I would like to hope that the foundation of Hungarian press freedom and Hungarian democracy is not laid down in such a way that it is only for one year, but so that the freedom of press and speech and every basic democratic right should prevail.

[Correspondent] Mr. Prime Minister, we differ from certain nearby countries, inasmuch as we have not done anything irreparable. That is, this is a civilized country and this is our greatest asset. But this is not the same everywhere—I mean, most of all, the former Yugoslavia. How do you see the country's security situation? Is there any danger of us being swept into conflict?

[Antall] Naturally conflict can always come about. Thus, one can say that in a situation like this in Europe and in this region of Europe, conflict could always take place, and it would be difficult to say that there is no danger of conflict of any sort in a country where to the south of us war is being waged, when on the territory of the former Soviet Union internal wars, fights, and internal political uncertainty prevails. The questions of European security are not covered by the entirety of a federal system. There are holes in this security system, so indeed the danger does exist. [passage omitted]

It is obvious though that there is no need to panic, to become hysterical, and to live constantly in the knowledge that a war may occur here. I trust and believe that we do not have to reckon with any direct danger; this is our main aim and we do everything in the interest of this so that war will not happen. [passage omitted] On the other side, there is the joining of the European security system which is being formed, and links with NATO and the European Community. These will all have to be settled and open to that direction.

[Correspondent] However, can they defend us if something happens? For example, if in one of the neighboring countries mad nationalists come to power—of course this is a hypothetical possibility?

[Antall] One of the basic conditions of security is always—and this is why it is necessary—the existence of a Hungarian Army. Thus, the Hungarian Army indeed has to be developed, and the Hungarian Army has to be kept in a condition whereby the country could not fall victim to such adventurist ideas. So we are on the side of maintaining and strengthening the Hungarian Army, and I do not think that there would be fundamental differences between the parliamentary parties on this issue. [passage omitted] In a political sense, we are struggling in order that NATO and all those whom it concerns should realize that this region has to be stabilized, and the issues have to be handled from a security point of view, in effect that this is not a no-man's land. European security, viewed from the Middle East—since Turkey is also a NATO country—is inconceivable without a secure central European region.

[Correspondent] So would you support a solution in principle, that some sort of international units capable of prompt intervention should be stationed in the region, perhaps in our country?

[Antall] That is another issue. At this moment in time I do not consider it timely. [passage omitted] The issue here rather is that NATO, in a new role, in this changed role, has to remain. The European presence of the United States is necessary, and obviously it is important to improve our relations with the neighboring countries. [passage omitted]

Socialist Leader Horn Views Political Situation

AU1112175792 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 7 Dec 92 p 4

[Interview with Gyula Horn, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party, by Pal Szombathy; place and date not given: "It Would Be a Waste of Time To Begin a Campaign Now"]

[Text] I am very sorry that the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] is not aware of the real mood of society, and that people have had enough of talking about the past, Gyula Horn told MAGYAR HIRLAP at the national meeting of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP]. Among other things, Horn said that a serious parliamentary party cannot ignore the current needs of people, and that he does not think that long-term conclusions can be drawn from the present situation of any of the parties. In his view, it is expedient to begin the 1994 election campaign at the time the elections are called.

[Szombathy] You have urged a kind of Moncloa pact, and you are not the first one to do so since the change of regime. Do you see a realistic chance for six-party crisis management talks?

[Horn] I hope that this suggestion of mine will have an effect and the partners will accept it. It would be an achievement if nothing else happened apart from beginning a dialogue. We will forward our proposals to the parliamentary parties and will have meetings with those that are interested. Naturally, we do not want to force ourselves upon others.

[Szombathy] How do you account for the MSZP's increasing popularity and its election successes? An increasing number of people consider your party as the main opposition but you are also called a nostalgia party.

[Horn] People indeed have nostalgia for the security of the past decades. At the same time, I do not believe that the majority of citizens would desire the return of the defeated regime. We are happy about our increased influence and popularity, but we prefer to deal with the actual current issues and draft solutions to certain problem areas in the economic, social, and welfare fields. The situation is constantly changing, and, therefore, we have to maintain and renew socialist policies. In addition, it was also mentioned at the meeting that a serious parliamentary party cannot ignore the current needs of the people. There are real chances to help alleviate everyday problems. At the same time, I do not believe that long-term conclusions can be drawn from the current situation of any of the parties.

[Szombathy] What kind of attacks are you expecting as a result of your successes?

[Horn] Politically, we are not a successor party. However, I do not believe that the coalition will draw conclusions from its failures, and thus it is escaping into substitute actions. Under the pretext of enforcing justice, they are trying to launch serious political kangaroo courts. I am very sorry that the MDF is not aware of the real mood of the country. People are fed up with talking about the past. The MSZP is expecting these kinds of attacks but we are not wasting our energies on this.

[Szombathy] In this case, do you agree with Viktor Orban [parliamentary deputy of the Federation of Young Democrats] when he says that all such attacks only serve to strengthen the MSZP?

[Horn] Yes, but I would be very happy if the socialists were strengthened by other than these factors.

[Szombathy] Are the proceedings against Matyas Szuros a problem for the party? Szuros has actually made statements which deviate from your main party line on a number of occasions.

[Horn] His statements are his own business. However, the case of the rolling dollars [money sent to Soviet Union by the previous regime] is a different issue. The prosecution is treating the issue fairly, but certain people are trying to create a conflict through their suggestions. I do not believe that anyone would have any moral or political basis to hold Szuros and his associates responsible. All this does not destroy the position of the MSZP.

[Szombathy] In your view, what are the chances that the elections will be brought forward? What would the MSZP's attitude be toward this? Could this mean Weimarization?

[Horn] Throughout the country, my experience is that people are dissatisfied with the government and the operation and style of Parliament. Every civil organization or movement has the right to use the constitutional means to initiate a referendum in a given case. The Association of People Living Below Subsistence Level will probably soon gather the necessary number of signatures. The movement will probably go as far as to call a referendum. However, the outcome is hard to predict. There is even greater confusion as to whether the result of a referendum on this issue would be binding on Parliament. The MSZP as a party remains outside this issue, and we do not encourage or restrain anyone. As a matter of fact, I do not think that this would mean a Weimarization of the country.

[Szombathy] When are the socialists going to begin their election campaign? What atmosphere do you expect during the 1994 campaign?

[Horn] We have more than a year before the elections. It would be a waste of time to begin the campaign now. As a matter of fact, so many things could change by then that we would be going in completely the wrong direction if we began now. We must begin the election campaign when, sometime at the end of 1993 or the beginning of 1994, the exact date is announced.

[Szombathy] Recently in Csepel [part of Budapest], you said that "we only have to endure another one and a half years now." How certain are you that your party will come to power? Would this be good for the MSZP?

[Horn] The Socialist Party has just as much chance to become part of the government as any other party. However, this does not mean that we want to be in power at all costs. A strong opposition position is worth more than membership of a weak coalition. The trio of the

MDF, Independent Smallholders Party, and the Christian Democratic People's Party is a good example of this. The important issue for us is that it should be impossible to make a significant decision without the left wing.

[Szombathy] Are you worried that, as 1994 approaches, the other five parties will again join forces against the MSZP?

[Horn] I am not worried about that. If the liberal parties joined forces with the MDF, then this would lead to their own catastrophe. I think that this option can be excluded, because their political styles are fundamentally different.

[Szombathy] Many people accuse you by saying that your views on the state are similar to those of the MDF. What are the chances of you cooperating with the current power in a new cycle? You noticeably emphasized your differences from the MDF on 4 December.

[Horn] I do not consider the current structure and politics of the coalition parties final or long-term. My feeling is that the MDF is to go through considerable changes. A worse policy than the current one is almost unimaginable. If the MDF does change into a party with a truly new spirit, then the MSZP should not refuse to work together with it.

Minister Views Foreign Trade

AU1112115992 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 5 Dec 92 p 27

[Interview with Bela Kadar, minister for international economic relations, by Katalin Bossanyi; place and date not given: "Bela Kadar: Why Would I Be a Supporter of Directives?"]

[Excerpts] At first, Bela Kadar was called the Hungarian apostle of Latin-American-type crisis handling and later he was seen as a representative of etatism and state directives. However, he does not hide the fact that, as far as the dilemmas of growth are concerned, his economic policy objectives are indeed different from those of the official financial policy. He also claims that, as for the governmental debates, he has been proved correct because his forecasts have come true. Although he continues to regard foreign economic relations as a successful area, he appears to be discovering worrying signs in the economic processes, which might make the further growth of exports uncertain.

[Bossanyi] In spite of the undeniable export results, you have faced many attacks in the past two years including the present time. Can you please expound the essence of your economic philosophy?

[Kadar] Both in the past as a researacher and now as a minister, I have been interested in the problems of the historically delayed modernization and the economic policy strategies that can be applied. In contrast to the economists who think in terms of institutional systems, I have always attributed greater importance to the real processes of the market economy and the social psychological circumstances in the economy. Therefore, from the beginning, I held the view that it is only by giving incentives to enterprises with exports in mind that the Hungarian economy can be converted to a market economy and made to catch up. To achieve this, we—would—need cooperation in the government and a political consensus in the assessment of the situation. This is one of the reasons I urged for the transition to be gradual and that the state should not leave the company and enterprise sphere completely to itself in this process. This can be seen as an etatist policy, favoring central control, but my experience shows that the fact that, in spite of the drastic decline in the gross domestic product and in production in the past two and a half years, a section of the real sphere managed to adjust successfully and that unemployment has not increased to even more worrying level, is partly a result of the foreign economic policy that I consistently represent. [passage omitted]

[Bossanyi] Trade with our former CEMA-member neighbors has decreased considerably. It seems that the West "is adding fuel" to the lack of capital in the region and is making these countries compete hard with each other, occasionally even setting them against each other. In your view, would the seeking-out of a framework of cooperation and sensible division of labor improve our chances of catching up?

[Kadar] This issue has a political and an economic aspect. As for the economic aspect, it is obvious that we are in strong competition and this cannot be belittled by soft talk. At the same time, I am convinced—and the government's policy points in the same direction—that the advantages resulting from the cooperation of the region's countries should be better utilized. For the united Europe, this region can be a real partner as a unit, rather than as separate countries. We have to strive not to allow the competition to turn into senseless rivalry, and to avoid political—or seemingly such—debates to be a further burden on economic cooperation. The Bos issue is an example. We should find a compromise solution. This is also in the interest of the Slovak partner because Hungary is its fourth biggest trade partner at the moment.

[Bossanyi] Let us turn to assessing the relations that promise the chance of catching up. Some 72 percent of our current exports go to developed countries and the EC's share has reached 50 percent. These figures are more favorable than expected at the beginning of the year or that predicted by your opponents. In spite of this, at the news conference assessing the first nine months, you said that the dynamic export growth may slow down. Why are you sounding alarm?

[Kadar] I gave a warning because the possibilities of increasing exports by redirecting them have been exhausted by now. There are one-off reasons for the foreign economy's good performance. These are the change of system in the foreign economy, the change of

markets in 1990 and 1991, the association agreement with the EC, and the liberalization that was perhaps implemented a little faster than necessary. The decentralization of foreign trade organizations and the sudden increase in the number of exporters are also such one-off positive effects. The time has come for the whole of economic policy, rather than just economic diplomacy's efforts, to seek the conditions of foreign trade growth in real terms and in the lasting improvement of the enterprises' and entrepreneurs' competitiveness.

[Bossanyi] What kind of economic policy change are you thinking of?

[Kadar] I am thinking of the improvement of export profitability, the financial and technological resources needed to expand the product basis, and a more effective support for the foreign trade institutional system.

[Bossanyi] Can you please explain in greater detail what kind of state intervention methods you mean?

[Kadar] What I am suggesting is being applied worldwide and it is a natural part of the export-supporting policies of the state—the government. This means exchange policy measures and tax relief. In order to have a competitive product basis we need investments, therefore, we must give incentives for technical development, and for training and retraining, which will enable people to do good quality work.

[Bossanyi] Would this be the only reason why you are considered to be in favor of state support and intervention?

[Kadar] You said it! In my view, if Hungary has an export financing system that all other exporters in the world also have, that cannot be seen as state intervention. [passage omitted]

[Bossanyi] Let me ask a naive question. The gross domestic product [GDP], production, and now imports, too, have been decreasing for years. In the meantime, our exports have increased. How and from what?

[Kadar] For three years, the volume of exports did not increase, rather, it decreased parallel with the GDP's decrease. [passage omitted] It was in 1992 for the first time that there was a 12-percent difference between the GDP's decrease and the exports' increase. This is why I consider 1992 to be the turning point in foreign trade!

[Bossanyi] However, what do we export? The enterprises keep complaining that the profitability of exports is decreasing.

[kadar] The export structure is improving and this reflects the gradual change of structure in the economy. In spite of this, exports still have a largely traditional structure. The proportion of food, raw materials, and labor [performed on imported goods to be exported again] is still considerable. However, we receive rather high discounts on the duties on these from the EC. Please, do not forget, either, that the labor performed here means Hungarian employment and protects workplaces. The reduced profitability is a result of the current situation. The subsidies have been abolished and the companies and enterprises are forced to export everything they can instead of selling on the contracted domestic market. The forint's constant revaluation further weakens the profitability of exports. In the short term, this is a disadvantage in competition that is hard to live with even for the much stronger economies. In addition, the various ministries have clashing interests. Finance, obviously, is interested in revaluing the forint and thus to keep inflation in check. This—temporarily—improves the financial processes. However, it might be concomitant with a larger than necessary decline in production and loss of jobs. While the channels of export incentives that conform to the market are becoming narrower, as a kind of response, the hysteria of a new type of economic protection is gaining ground even within the government. [passage omitted]

[Bossanyi] Returning to the disadvantages in the competition, in addition to the exchange rate, what other export-reducing financial measures do you object to?

[Kadar] I object to the high tax and the international remarkably high costs related to wages. It must be seen that this is a clash of different economic philosophies. If we do not want an artificial boost—and we do not want it—then a natural growth can only be supported by the creation of internationally competitive bases of production and the comparative support of the private sphere. [passage omitted]

Poll Presents Views on Border Revision

AU1412121292 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Dec 92 pp 1, 6

[Correspondent's report: "Opinion Poll on Border Revision"]

[Text] The Median Opinion Poll and Market Research Institute have carried out two surveys on the issue of border revision in recent months. The results show that the irredentist slogan prevailing between the two world wars has turned upside down: Most people reject the revision of the Trianon borders. We can find both fear of war and the lack of solidarity toward the Hungarian minorities behind this attitude.

In September, two-thirds of the people in the survey said that they would not find it desirable to change the Trianon border, or Hungary's current borders. Only slightly more than a quarter of the people were of the opposite opinion, and every twentieth person refused to take a stand.

The rejection of revision is not only a matter of political education. With the increase in the level of education, the proportion of people who reject the idea of border revision has increased among high school graduates, but the proportion of university graduates who gave this answer was again smaller. A higher proportion of people

under 60 years of age opposed the revision than the average, and a lower proportion of senior citizens rejected the revision than the average. The "revisionists" would not accept the sacrifices, however, 97 percent wanting to change the borders by peaceful means, while only 2 percent (or 0.6 percent of the overall population) would use military force. There would be less opposition to the border revision if, as a result, "only" the situation of Hungarians beyond the borders continued to deteriorate. In this case, 14 percent of the people in the survey (or 3.8 percent of the overall population) would be in favor of a border revision. Most of these people would also support the revision if, as a result, masses of Hungarians across the border fled to Hungary (58 percent, or 2.9 percent of the overall population). However, only a very small number of people who do not care about refugees would change the borders if this led to a war with other countries (16 percent, or 0.6 percent of the overall population). [all statistics as published]

The October survey confirmed that most people acquiesced on the Trianon question, and most rejected the idea that we should do everything in our power to regain those areas. This acquiescence is partly motivated by the fear of war. The overwhelming majority of people think that insisting on the border issues would lead to war, and they do not think that the events prevailing in the neighboring countries would make it possible to change the borders by peaceful means. At the same time, however, there is also a lack of solidarity behind this rejection of border revision: Most people think that the government should better deal with the Hungarians living in Hungary. We have seen this attitude on other occasions, too. In May 1991, only 32 percent of the people thought that support for the Hungarian minorities was very important (45 percent thought it was quite important, 17 percent did not find it important, and 6 percent did not take any stance).

A larger proportion of people in favor of a peaceful change of the borders thought that we should regain our lost areas; we can call this an irredentist position. A larger number of people who feared a war thought that the government should care about the Hungarians living in Hungary, and we can call this the pacifist attitude.

People with a higher level of education favored neither the irredentist nor the pacifist position. A large number of Smallholders' Party voters followed by Christian Democratic Party voters were in favor of the former position. Socialist Party voters rejected this position. The pacifist attitude was again mostly favored by Smallholders' Party voters, but this attitude was also favored by Socialist Party voters and the voters of the Alliance of Free Democrats, while voters of the Hungarian Democratic Forum and the Christian Democratic People's Party mostly rejected this attitude, and so did people under 40 years of age.

Regarding the extent to which these two positions were accepted, the survey classified the people in one larger group and three smaller groups. This shows that the pacifists are more numerous, but the irredentists are more determined. Moderate pacifists accepted the second position only slightly, and rejected the first position to a similar extent. The uncertain irredentists accepted both positions, but they identified with the first one much more. The radical irredentists largely accepted the first position, and rejected the second position even more. The uncertain pacifists rejected both positions, but they rejected the second position much more strongly.

The proportion of moderate pacifists and radical irredentists exceeded the average among people with a high-school education, and the proportion of uncertain anti-pacifists exceeded the average among university graduates. The proportion of uncertain irredentists was highest among general school graduates.

The fact that people do not regard supporting the Hungarian minorities as very important shows that they do not judge the national character of various parties on this basis either. Some 29 percent of the people in the survey could not even answer the question whether there are parties that better represent national interests than other parties. Some 40 percent said that there were no such parties, and only 32 percent said the opposite. With the increase in the number of people interested in politics, there has also been an increase in the proportion of people who thought that there were "more national-oriented" parties: 52 percent of people greatly interested in politics thought so, against 16 percent of people not interested in politics.

Some 16 percent of the people who gave an affirmative answer could not say which parties represented the national interest better. The list emerging from genuine answers is practically identical with the popularity list of the various political parties: 34 percent of the people mentioned the Federation of Young Democrats; 12 percent mentioned the Hungarian Socialist Party and 12 percent the Alliance of Free Democrats; 8 percent mentioned the Hungarian Democratic Forum and 8 percent the Christian Democratic People's Party; 7 percent mentioned the Smallholders' Party; 3 percent mentioned the government parties in general; 2 percent mentioned the opposition parties in general; and 1 percent mentioned the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party.

Bills on Crimes Committed in 1956 Discussed

AU1012114292 Budapest MTI in English 2056 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Budapest, 8 December (MTI)—Parliament on Tuesday [8 December] started discussion of bills concerning criminal prosecution of offences committed during the October 1956 uprising.

Justice Minister Istvan Balsai said that after the fall of communism there were no prosecutions like the Nuremberg trials. The so far unprosecuted perpetrators of war crimes with responsibility for suppression and retaliation after the 1956 Hungarian uprising are not covered

by any amnesty, he said. For this reason, the government, quoting the 1949 International Geneva Convention, proposes that perpetrators should be brought to trial under the rules of law in force at the time.

The government hopes the bill will resolve the question of fair trials satisfactorily, since it does not use retrospective justice.

After party spokesmens' comments, the debate was postponed.

The other bill relevant to limitations was presented by Zsolt Zetenyi of the ruling Hungarian Democratic Forum in the name of 104 parliamentary deputies. Accordingly, the courts would be competent to decide which crimes are subject to limitations, and which exempt. The bill proposes to cover the period when the state failed to exercise its authority to punish crimes, meaning that criminals escaped justice for political reasons, not legal reasons.

If the courts decide that offences committed by certain party and state leaders under the former regime are not subject to limitations, then they will open the way to criminal proceedings.

This debate was also postponed.

Report on Hungarian Politician Gyula Horn Visit

LD1112222092 Warsaw PAP in English 1956 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 11—Leader of the Hungarian Socialist Party and head of the Foreign Committee of the Hungarian National Assembly Gyula Horn said that his visit to Poland helped to establish closer contacts between the parliaments of the two countries.

On Friday [11 December] Horn was received by Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski. He also held talks with Deputy Speaker of the Sejm (lower house) Jacek Kurczewski and head of the Sejm Committee of Foreign Affairs Bronislaw Geremek.

Horn voiced surprise at Poland's lack of reaction at international forum to infringement of the Hungarian minority rights by the Slovak Government. Speaking to journalists Professor Geremek said he told Horn that the Polish side is in contact with the Slovak parliament. "The talks give grounds for believing that the issue of respect for ethnic minorities will be treated by Slovakia, a prospective member of the Council of Europe, in accordance with European standards," Geremek said.

Horn paid his visit to Poland on December 9 to 11 at the invitation of the authorities of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SDRP) and the parliamentary floor group of the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD).

Economic Cooperation Agreements Made With Belarus

LD1112235292 Warsaw PAP in English 2203 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 11—Poland and Belarus signed a protocol on the first meeting of the Polish-Belarusian Mixed Commission for Cooperation in Economy and Trade in Warsaw Friday [11 December]. They also sized up the state of Polish-Belarusian economic cooperation and possibilities to increase trade in 1993.

In connection with the absence of the necessary bank infrastructure, the system of the insurance of mutual trade operations and "information banks" on potential partners for cooperation, the commission pointed out to the necessity of setting up a joint Polish-Belarusian commercial bank.

Polish Deputy Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Leslaw Podkanski told journalists the Belarusian Government had already decided to set up such a bank. It will be started up in the first half of 1993 with headquarters in Warsaw and Minsk to considerably facilitate mutual payments and to provide additional opportunities to give loans, Podkanski said Friday.

Both sides agreed also on the directions of cooperation in facilitating the transport of goods (joint customs and passport clearances). They got acquainted with an initiative by the Polish-Belarusian chamber of industry and commerce to set up a consortium to develop and modernize border crossings.

After eight months of 1992, the Polish-Belarusian commodity turnover almost twice exceeded the 1991 volume. The value of the commodity exchange amounted to 178 million U.S. dollars, including the exports of Polish goods to Belarus—83.7 million dollars and imports from Belarus—94.1 million dollars. Farm produce and raw materials prevail in the Polish-Belarusian trade. There were about 300 Polish-Belarusian joint ventures in Belarus at the end of November 1992.

Walesa's Letter to Kravchuk on Bilateral Relations

WS1112133192 Warsaw SERWIS INFORMACYJNY in Polish 2156 GMT 7 Dec 92

[Text] Lech Walesa, president of the Republic of Poland, forwarded a letter to Leonid Kravchuk, president of Ukraine. In his letter the president of the Republic of Poland emphasizes that Polish-Ukrainian relations have a long history—a good one and a bad one, which encourages efforts to reach a harmonious and equal cooperation between both countries. The results of the spring talks between the presidents gave us reason to believe that bilateral relations would develop further. To better coordinate joint activities, the president suggests that a consultative committee of the Polish and Ukrainian presidents be created. The committee would, among others, deal with cooperation in the frontier area, barter trade, the struggle against criminal activities, the creation of joint national parks, and the introduction of legal solutions in accordance with standards of European institutions.

European Free Trade Association Agreement Signed

LD1112041592 Warsaw PAP in English 2358 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] Geneva, Dec. 10—Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Andrzej Arendarski signed in Geneva on Thursday [10 December] a free trade agreement with the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), which should come into effect next April, announced deputy minister for foreign economic relations Andrzej Byrt.

Similarly to the agreement with the European Communities free trade of industrial goods, fish and certain processed agricultural products between Poland and EFTA countries will start before January 1, 2002. Under the agreement EFTA member countries will lift tariffs on 80 per cent of Polish exports, while Poland will initially lift customs duties on 28 per cent of imports from EFTA and gradually exempt other products from duties.

Together with a free trade agreement separate bilateral agreements were signed on farm trade as the EFTA accord does not cover common agricultural policy.

According to Minister Byrt the agreement will help create an extensive area of free trade as Poland has already established free trade with the European Communities and is going to sign similar agreements with the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary.

EFTA is an association of Austria, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland founded in 1960 to foster trade of industrial goods between members and to contribute to the liberalization and expansion of world trade.

Year of Council of Europe Membership Viewed

PM1112103992 Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 27 Nov 92 pp 1, 7

[Interview with Dr. Hanna Machinska, director of Council of Europe Information and Documentation Center in Warsaw, by correspondent Piotr Jankowski on 26 November 1992; place not given]

[Text] *On 26 November last year Poland gained the status of a full-fledged member of the Council of Europe, the largest European interstate political organization.*

The acquisition of membership rights to the Council of Europe is regarded as one of the most important steps taken by our country, and other countries of Central and Eastern Europe, on their way to full integration with the West's political and economic structures. Although the Council of Europe does not make decisions of an economic nature, no European country was accepted into the EEC without having previously been accepted as a member of the Council.

Yesterday, on the anniversary of Poland's accession to that organization, TRYBUNA OPOLSKA asked Dr. Hanna Machinska, director of the Council of Europe Information and Documentation Center in Warsaw, to sum up the achievements of the first year of our participation in the work of the Council of Europe.

"It is still too early to make a full recapitulation of our achievements," Dr. Machinska said. "Our accession to the Council is not a definitive event—it is a gradual process. For us the past year has been a time of active familiarization with Council of Europe's structures and integrating with these structures. Our first step was to set up a permanent Polish mission in Strasbourg. The most important elements in our future work will be participation in the Council's programs and successive ratification of its conventions. There are about 140 conventions, among which the fundamental one is the Human Rights Convention.

Participation in the Council of Europe is not a question of economic ties which might exert some direct influence on our economy, as is the case with, say, EEC membership. The Council of Europe programs that concern Poland reflect a general political dimension. Their role is to support and encourage transformations in the legislation and the political system of member states.

Particularly in the recent period, the Council of Europe has demonstrated great dynamism and energy in the field of organizing various aid programs. The most prominent of these, directed toward the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, is the Demosthenes Program. This is devised to help in Poland's task of attaining full compatibility of Polish legislation with Council of Europe conventions, especially the Human Rights Convention. One of the particular projects financed within the framework of th[illegible]ram is the translation of the Council's document[illegible]lish, without which there can be no talk of [illegible]ctical implementation. It appears paradoxical, [illegible] at the present moment the task of translating the texts of the Council's conventions constitutes a bottleneck that slows down the entire process of carrying out the tenets of the main program. However, we have reason to believe that this problem will be resolved within a comparatively short time. Particular sectors within the Polish administration take an interest in individual conventions relevant to their position and problems. Recently, for example, the National Education Ministry organized a debate on the convention on national minority languages, which will guarantee the right of national minorities to cultivate their own national identity and culture. In turn, the Finance Ministry is vitally interested in implementation of the convention on the "laundering of dirty money," and so on.

As regards ratification of individual conventions, not enough progress has been made so far because the path of the relevant legislation process is rather long. There is, however, some hope that this process might be accelerated. The Foreign Affairs Ministry assumed the task of identifying relevant priorities. Particular matters awaiting ratification and figuring high on the priority list include the following: the convention on the parity of degrees and diplomas (which will affect university acceptance procedures), the convention on European prison regulations, the extradition convention, and the adoption convention.

In addition, Council of Europe conferences are financed within the provisions of the framework of the Demosthenes Program. For instance, to date Poland was the venue of conferences devoted, among other things, to issues of sport, education, and human rights in penitentiary institutions; a conference on human migration and its legal, economic, and social aspects is being planned at the moment.

In addition, we intend to organize a series of conferences concerning the Human Rights Convention. This year, acting via the agency of the Foreign Affairs Ministry, we submitted to the Council of Europe a project of an

integrated national training program for the legal profession. Our own agency runs one such training center already. This whole issue is a matter of considerable importance for the question of adjusting Polish legislation to the requirements of European legislation.

In practical terms, the Demosthenes Program embraces all aspects of life, and it would be impossible to overestimate its role in the process of broadly interpreted European integration. A proportion of the program's projects is addressed to countries that are not yet members of the Council of Europe—such as Albania, Lithuania, Latvia, or Estonia.

Finally, it is worth mentioning another new program devised by the Council of Europe and given the code name LODE. Its aim is to encourage the development of local democratic structures. Poland participated actively in formulating the LODE program: We are not only passive executors of the ideas which generate from Strasbourg. In addition to LODE's task of financing training programs, we want it to be used to assist realization of specific projects, such as investment projects in border areas, concerning especially territories vacated by the departed Soviet army. Germany and Czecho-Slovakia also have an interest in this aspect of LODE's potential application.

At the moment, a budget debate is under way in the Council of Europe. Its outcome will decide whether and to what extent our proposals concerning the content of the LODE program will eventually be approved and implemented.

Russian Documents on Possible Invasion Revealed

WS1112134292 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 0700 GMT 10 Dec 92

[From the "Wiadomosci" newscast]

[Text] There was no decision by the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union concerning any military intervention in Poland in 1981. This is what is suggested in the copy of documents made available to our correspondent in the Central Archives in Moscow. The documents were brought from the Kremlin on 8 December, and within a month our historians will be able to make use of them.

[Begin Moscow correspondent Iwona Parchimowicz recording] For example, in the protocol of the Politburo of October 31, 1980, entitled "On the Results of the Visit of Comrade Kania, the first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party, and Pinkowski, the chairman of the Council of Ministers," we can find the following fragment of L. Brezhnev's statement: We asked Kania directly if the party had a plan in the event of an open threat to the peoples' authorities. He said that there was such a plan, that they knew whom to arrest and how to use the Army. But it seems that they are not yet ready to take this step, they are putting it off for an indefinite future.

Two days earlier, on October 29, 1980, Dmitri Ustinov said: The Northern Group of the Army is ready and in full combat readiness. At the same session, A. Gromyko explained: As for Jaruzelski, he is of course a sure man, but all the same, he is now beginning to speak as if he lacks enthusiasm. He even said that the Army would not go against the workers. In general, I think that the Polish have to be told about everything and told very decisively.

On the list of documents that are in the Russian president's archives in Moscow, there are also documents that have not yet been shown to the public. [end recording]

Politicians Express Views on Martial Law Period

LD1312223292 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1830 GMT 13 Dec 92

[Text] [Announcer] After the success of his book about martial law, of which 260,000 copies have been sold so far, General Wojciech Jaruzelski is preparing a Polish-language edition of his memoirs published in France.

[Begin Jaruzelski recording] Physically, I feel well, in general. Psychologically, significantly worse. Over the last few years I have continued to work hard. I have written two books, one autobiographical, that has been published in France and Italy, and a second, "Martial Law—Why?" Anyone who cares to carefully read this book will see that the various recently published sensations are in essence not sensations at all. [end recording]

[Announcer] Jaruzelski is also preparing replies to accusations of the Sejm Constitutional Responsibility Commission, that is to resolve whether the general and his coworkers broke the constitution and the law through the imposition of martial law.

Czeslaw Kiszczak is also testifying before the commission.

[Begin Kiszczak recording] Specified political forces in Poland—as a thank you for the Round Table, for the peaceful handover of power, for the fact that there is no bloodshed in Poland—are taking considerable care and effort to ensure for me that I do not continue the listless life of a pensioner. [end recording]

[Announcer] The former head of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, responsible for the police repressions of the martial law period, is writing a second book. Former Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski, after publishing two volumes of memoirs, is editing a selection of letters that he received from politicians. He is the editor of the DZIS monthly, which is supported by the financial concern of Jerzy Urban. The NIE weekly, published by the former press spokesman of the martial law rulers, is with a 700,000 print-run one of the most profitable papers in Poland. Urban is in 64th place on the list of the richest men prepared by the WPROST weekly. The successes of former dignitaries arouse the

opposition of many politicians. Senator Zbigniew Romaszewski regards them as proof of the weakness of the Polish state.

[Begin Romaszewski recording] The fact that there has been no moral evaluation, and no political evaluation of the imposition of martial law over the past three years is, I think, a very serious defeat for, in general terms, the Third Republic itself. For, this is altogether a problem of responsibility having being swept under the carpet. [end recording]

[Announcer] In the October Demoskop poll, 59 percent of Poles who wished to express themselves on this topic acknowledged General Jaruzelski as a patriot. On the other hand, his punishment has been demanded both in the Sejm and in the course of the demonstration organized yesterday by the Confederation for Independent Poland. The question of the accountability of the people who imposed martial law remains open.

The authors of martial law say that today too they would sign their names under the decision to impose it. Some of them have attained significant material achievements. Many are writing memoirs. The course of history that has broken their careers has only insignificantly impinged upon the calm of their private lives.

5,500 Russian Troops To Remain Until End of 1993

LD1212153292 Warsaw PAP in English 1330 GMT 12 Dec 92

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 12—A total of 5,500 Russian soldiers and officers will remain in Poland until the end of 1993 to supervise the withdrawal of former Soviet troops from Germany to Russia across Polish territory, the office of the Polish Government Plenipotentiary for the Stationing of Former Soviet Troops in Poland said. At present there is not a single Russian combat unit left in Poland.

A total of 583 Russian soldiers and over 2,000 tonnes of ammunition and fuels left Poland in November. Last month the Polish side took over 292 buildings and 95 hectares of land left behind by the former Soviet Army in the Baltic port of Swinoujscie.

Kaczynski on Communist Comeback, Walesa Power

AU1112162392 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8 Dec 92 p 3

[Interview with Center Accord chairman Jaroslaw Kaczynski by Krzysztof Gottesman; place and date not given: "Us and Them"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Gottesman] You have sent letters to several political parties, in which you say that the postcommunist order could regain power. What made you draft such a letter?

[Kaczynski] The Lithuanian elections made me do it. I thought the result of those elections would make people realize the danger we are facing and encourage them to undertake joint action. After all, groups opposed to the current social situation hold about 50 percent of the seats in the Sejm, and the Democratic Union and Liberal-Democratic Congress also contain many people who are not happy about the prospect of the old order returning to power. The purpose of my letter, in the light of Lithuanian events, was to draw attention to what might happen if the present situation is tolerated much longer. But the parochial interests of individual groups, and their inertia, passivity, and fear, especially the Christian-National Union's fear of losing the next elections, have proved stronger. Therefore we are heading in a very bad direction.

[Gottesman] You have said that President Walesa's political possibilities have been exhausted. You said that on the one side there is the Center Accord, and on the other side everyone else. Is the president also on the other side?

[Kaczynski] Yes, he is. He is trying to gather all the power into his own hands. He wants control over the army, police, special services, the prosecutor's office, the Supreme Chamber of Control, and the banks, so that no one would have any control over his actions. That would be the end of democracy. In addition, I have doubts about the qualifications of Walesa himself and his entourage. My negative assessment of their qualifications still stands. [passage omitted]

[Gottesman] What is the Center Accord today? More and more parties describing themselves as centrist and center-right wing are appearing.

[Kaczynski] The Center Accord continues to be the only center-right party that can really be described as a party. It has branches all over Poland. It has an infrastructure, including an intellectual one. It has successful politicians. The Christian-National Union may have a larger parliamentary representation than us, but it is virtually absent in many parts of the country. [passage omitted]

[Gottesman] What hopes does the Center Accord have for the next elections, which it would like to see brought forward?

[Kaczynski] We are optimistic about them. Very many people, though not most, view the present circumstances in the same way as us. The point is to mobilize these people politically and not divide them into factions because if they are mobilized, they will turn out to vote. If we had greater access to the media, we could achieve even better results. The most sensible thing to do, from the point of view of the country's future and our party's future, is to marshal our strength.

780,000 Poles Sign Petition for Abortion Referendum

LD1312152292 Warsaw PAP in English
1410 GMT 13 Dec 92

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 13—As many as 780,000 Poles have already signed a petition asking to hold a national referendum on penalization of abortion, it was confirmed in Warsaw during Sunday's [13 December] Congress of Social Committees collecting signatures in support of the petition. The biggest number of signatures was collected in Warsaw—313,000, Lodz—120,000, Wroclaw—63,000. In Czestochowa, the Polish Centre of the Marian Cult, 10,000 signatures were collected. Participants in the congress stressed that their activities are part of a general discussion on democratic foundations of the Republic of Poland. They announced that the action of collecting signatures will last as long as it is necessary.

Sejm Votes To Reject 1993 Draft Budget

LD1212203292 Warsaw PAP in English
1921 GMT 12 Dec 92

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 12—On Saturday [12 December] the Sejm (lower house) voted 257 against 136 (with 9 abstentions) for sending the government draft budget for 1993 to Sejm committees for further scrutiny. However, a key draft legislation accompanying the budget bill was rejected outright by 199 votes to 196 (with 10 abstentions), posing a new problem for the government.

The rejected draft would have held down pension increases next year due to pension indexation to offset inflation. The rejection means additional spending from the budget of 13 trillion zlotys (ca. 840 million dollars). Finance Minister Jerzy Osiatynski told reporters after the vote that "there is no room in the budget for that amount." He indicated that the government would try to propose a new version of legislation limiting pension indexation.

Osiatynski stressed that despite parliament's decision on pensions, the letter of intent signed by Poland with the International Monetary Fund only last month and based on the draft budget figures, would not have to be altered.

The draft budget has been sent to the committees together with several related government bills, including those amending tax laws, and the document outlining next year's monetary policy.

Overruling recommendations of its Standing Orders Committee, the Sejm refused to strip three MP's [members of parliament] of their statutory immunity from penal prosecution. Requests to lift that immunity had been lodged by the Public Prosecutor General.

He maintained that Andrzej Kostarczyk, MP, had unintentionally lost documents containing state secrets. The loss occurred in December, 1991, when Kostarczyk was deputy foreign minister.

Dariusz Sonta, MP, had verbally and physically assaulted a police patrol last May 30, according to the Public Prosecutor.

Finally, Bohdan Pilarski, MP, had publicly slandered prosecutors of the Regional Prosecutor's Office in Kepno in January, 1991, by suggesting they had accepted bribes, the Sejm was told.

The Sejm again passed amendments to the customs law, overruling the veto by President Lech Walesa with a two-thirds majority required in such instances. The amendments extend the deadline for completing formal arrangements necessary for the operation of duty free zones in Poland until 30 June, 1993.

The Sejm amended the 1991 law on personal income tax by exempting social welfare benefits paid from trade union funds from this tax. The Sejm decision drew immediate criticism from a government official who said the amendment created a loophole through which an uncontrolled stream of tax-free money could start pouring.

The chamber also rejected a Senate-proposed amendment to the law on the tribunal of state under which any future motion to put the president before the tribunal would be preliminarily examined by a committee composed not only of Sejm deputies, but senators as well.

Finally, the house rejected a draft resolution tabled by the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN) and requesting the government to ask the Russian authorities for making public certain archival documents concerning Polish history. Bogdan Borusewicz, MP, pointed out that there already existed an agreement on cooperation between archival services of both countries, and that Presidents Walesa and Yeltsin also dealt with those issues.

Since the agenda of the meeting has not been exhausted, the remaining items will be discussed next Wednesday.

Traffic Protocol Signed With Bulgaria

AU1212211992 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2042 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 11/12/1992—In compliance with the understandings reached by the Ministries of Transport of Romania and Bulgaria, the two ministers met at Drianovo (Bulgaria) to discuss the transport links between the two countries. They agreed to improve the functioning of checkpoints. So, it was set that a growing number of freight vehicles should pass through the Negru Voda-Kardam checkpoint, while automobiles and buses through Vama Veche-Durankulak and Ostrov-Silistra checkpoints.

The two ministers decided that the links by ferry should intensify between Giurgiu and Ruse, Bechet and Oreakhovo, Turnu Magurele and Nikopol, Oltenita and Tutrakan, Zimnicea and Svistov.

The protocol signed by the two sides stipulates that the checkpoint traffic should be improved, which could be done through the joint work of the checkpoint and customs officers in the two countries.

Ministry Demands Details on Hungarian Incidents

AU1112204692 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] The Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has issued a communique, which says that considering the large amount of interest shown by the Romanian public, the ministry has requested further details concerning the incidents in Gyula and Magyarcsanad, Hungary. This request is also justified by the fact that those incidents have occured in a general atmosphere that is acutely marked by tendencies of xenophobia, violence, discrimination, and anti-Semitism. Such incidents are further proof of the difficult situation of the Romanian ethnic minority in Hungary.

In that context, the news about the capture and expulsion from Hungary of the author of one of the incidents has caused certain bewilderment in Romania and has also increased confusion about the case itself. The involvement of a Romanian citizen, which was actually suggested in the very first statements by Hungarian authorities who considered that the incidents might have been provocations, as well as those authorities attempting to establish a connection between the incidents and the mounting of a plaque on the statue of Matthias Corvinus in Cluj, and the strange way [felul ciudat] in which the mentioned Romanian citizen was treated for having violated Hungarian laws are all confusing elements that create ambiguity, thus making it very difficult to clear up such a delicate situation.

However, we hope that the competent Hungarian authorities are seriously handling the incidents in Magyarcsanad and Gyula, and that steps will be taken to ensure the language, cultural, and religious rights of the Romanian ethnic minority in Hungary in accordance with European standards and documents adopted by the CSCE and European Council, of which Hungary is a member, concludes the communique issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Danielescu Reviews State Property Fund Goals

AU1312201492 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 9 Dec 92 p 3

[Interview with George Danielescu, chairman of the State Property Fund, by Ela Alexandrescu; place and date not given: "Capital That Should Be Used: The Savings of the People"]

[Text] [Alexandrescu] Esteemed Mr. Danielescu, you are the head of a new institution, which will play an important role in the privatization process. Tell us, please, what is the purpose of this State Property Fund [FPS]?

[Danielescu] The goal is privatization of companies, through sale of shares or social shares. The fund's main asset is that it initially holds—in accordance with the provisions of Law No. 58/91—70 percent of the social capital of companies set up in accordance with Chapter III of Law No. 15/90. FPS is the legal entity that represents the state as shareholder; it can adopt a corporate strategy in the administration of its share of the social capital of the respective companies.

[Alexandrescu] What is the FPS structure?

[Danielescu] We structured it along functional lines, so as to promote economic restructuring and privatization and to finance activities in general.

[Alexandrescu] As far as I know, the FPS is legally obliged to draw up annual privatization plans. The first such plan will be drafted for 1993. What will it be like?

[Danielescu] More should be done in this respect. One should work out a longer-term strategy, to include the program for 1993 too. For the time being, we are not in a position to do that, because we do not know the government's privatization plans very well. In these circumstances, we will work out the privatization program for next year, as a component part of a short-term strategy, with limited goals. In practical terms, in December we will submit proposals for the privatization of small and medium-sized enterprises, a sector where we can move at a faster pace. Of course, we will also work out a program for the privatization of the large enterprises, in cooperation with foreign consultants.

[Alexandrescu] What about privatization of the large industrial enterprises?

[Danielescu] I believe that if we are to continue to enjoy political support as we have so far, we will resolve the privatization of small enterprises within a year. As for the large industries, here the problems are much more complicated, since we are dealing with large production units employing a large number of people, with different

opinions, and with positions and attitudes that oppose the concept of privatization.

[Alexandrescu] In your opinion, what would be the best privatization method for this sector?

[Danielescu] I believe that the system of joint companies is much more advantageous to us than the complete sale of enterprises, in view of the fact that—in the case of the large industries—the privatization will depend on foreign capital and the foreign investors will also bring along the technology that we need so much.

[Alexandrescu] You have recently handed over your post to your successor at the Ministry of Finance, where, as minister, you have certainly accumulated useful experience for you current position as FPS chairman. What are the most pressing problems regarding our finances?

[Danielescu] I believe it is absolutely necessary to establish a healthy financial market as soon as possible. At the end of October, the people's savings exceeded 350 billion lei, which if absorbed into the economy, would be a not insignificant source of investment. Likewise, we should complete the current banking system with an investment bank. To conclude this with a success, I would like to announce that the first state bonds will be sold publicly. They will have nominal values of 25,000, 50,000, and 100,000 lei.

[Alexandrescu] What kind of securities would you like to invest in, and in which of them do you intend to actually invest in personally?

[Danielescu] I believe in this privatization, and I think that investments and shares and bonds are very profitable. Personally, I bought shares at URSUS [a beer factory] and the Agricultural Bank. I am going to invest in a few state bonds, then in certain shares of enterprises that will go private through public offers of shares.

Melescanu Reviews Black Sea Cooperation Conference

AU1212200092 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu returned today from Antalya, Turkey where he attended the second ministerial conference for the Black Sea economic cooperation zone.

Concerning the results of that conference, Melescanu told our reporter Doina Staiciuc that the economic zone will truly begin to function soon, particularly considering that it was decided to establish a standing secretariat for cooperation with headquarters in Istanbul. The secretariat will have an international character and operate on the basis of mutually approved regulations. This will be the first time for a subregional body to establish a consultative council for businessmen, which—in cooperation with the representatives of the member governments—aims to promote business within the cooperation zone.

The conference was also attended by Jacques Attali, president of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD]. Attali said that the EBRD is determined to become directly involved in financing certain infrastructure projects within the cooperation zone.

Popescu Reviews Social Welfare Policies

AU1312203192 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 8 Dec 92 p 5

[Interview with Dan Mircea Popescu, minister of state and minister of labor and social protection, by unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "One Million Unemployed—A Fact That Cannot Be Ignored"]

[Text] [TINERETUL LIBER] Mr. Minister, it is known that, very soon Romania will have one million people unemployed. A burden, admittedly, that particularly affects young people, graduates of all education levels, who can hardly find a job. Given that this is your third ministerial post, what do you intend to do to improve legislation concerning unemployment and what can you do to remove the temptation among young people to leave the country? What are the chances today of our youth finding jobs here?

[Popescu] We have over 974,000 registered unemployed, which means an unemployment rate of 8.8 percent. The structure of these unemployed per each social category is as follows: 87.6 percent are workers; 10.5 percent are people with high school degrees; and 2 percent are graduates from institutes of higher education. On the other hand, 41 percent are below the age of 25; 23.1 percent are between 30-39 years of age; and only 7.4 percent are above age 50. Indeed, we will reach this unwelcome figure of 1 million unemployed, as you said, in the near future. What have we done so far? Well, we extended unemployment assistance from six to nine months. Then we adopted Law No. 87, which stipulates 18 months of welfare benefits. This is all we could do for this category of people. Organizing training and retraining courses for 62,000 people this year is another effort, which in the grand scheme of things doesn't amount to all that much, in the light of this impressive figure of 1 million unemployed. Therefore, in my opinion, the most important thing now is to create new jobs, something which requires investment.

In the government program, we have already stated that we want to allocate part of the unemployment assistance to creating new jobs. As you know, the unemployment fund is almost 90 billion lei, but we should amend Law No. 1/1990 that forbids use of the unemployment fund for purposes other than payment of unemployment benefits. Another source of investment has emerged these days: The National Bank announced that 40,000,000 [lei] from the 1992 profits will be allocated for creating new jobs and solving various social problems. Since you are a newspaper that addresses itself to young people, I would like to point out that the state pays the economic

units 60-70 percent of the salaries for graduates from high schools, professional schools, and universities, in accordance with the law. If the graduate does not find a job in one or two months, he is entitled to unemployment assistance; this is a minimum benefit which does not exist in other countries. It may not be much, but this is all we can afford right now. As for the measures to induce young people not to leave the country, these measures should be planned in conjunction with other factors as well, including the Ministry for Youth, which should become more active in this respect. You see, if we want the young people to stay, we must begin by ensuring jobs for them. So, here we come back to the need to create new jobs. There are only 3,000-5,000 new job openings every month, compared with the high number of unemployed. This is very little and, to be frank, the small- and middle-size enterprises are the ones that do most of the hiring these days. Without them, the situation would have been even worse than it is now at the end of November.

[TINERETUL LIBER] What protection measures do you envision for another category of people—which is perhaps even more handicapped than the younger generation—namely the elderly, given the fact that, aside from the extremely high price of staples (some of them, such as milk and butter, being almost unavailable), medicines have become inaccessible to many of them?

[Popescu] There is one day to go before the next government meeting on indexation, and I can tell you that pensions will be indexed more than wages will. Within the pensions themselves, the small pensions—up to 10,000 lei—will have an indexation of 23 percent, compared with 21 percent for the other pensions. In connection with the products that cannot be found at all in the shops, we intend to import them. As for medicines, we intend to subsidize their price increases, at a level of 100 percent for some of them.

[TINERETUL LIBER] What concrete social protection measures do you intend to adopt during the current mandate?

[Popescu] Social protection is not the task of this ministry alone. Parts of it should be ensured in cooperation with the Ministries of Health, Youth, Education, Science, and Culture, in order to put together a social protection system. Coming back to the subject of young people, I will plead for new laws, loans, and other measures to enable young families to buy durable goods on installment. Likewise, we should prepare a system to ensure placement of the graduates while they are still completing their studies in various universities. Measures exist, but they must be identified carefully and promoted. In two to three months, we hope to work out a draft bill on social protection, to be followed by draft laws on social assistance, social insurance, pensions, social housing, and a minimum standard of living. All this, once adopted by parliament, will constitute our social protection system.

[TINERETUL LIBER] Mr. Minister, have you ever thought that one day this government to which you belong may be accused of what the old regime was charged with, namely the starvation of millions of people?

[Popescu] Of course, the accusation may come. I know of the discussions about how we, those in the "Stolojan" government, administered the country. I know that such opinions were expressed during those discussions. Still, I do not believe things can go so far as to reach that stage. You see, on the one hand social protection is a matter of public policy; on the other hand, it can also be a subject of attention for nongovernmental organizations, such as the trade unions. Nevertheless, I think that one must point out one thing: Social protection depends on the economic situation. As long as production decreases at the pace that it did during the past two and a half years, we will not be able to live better, regardless of how many measures we take. When we stabilize our production, things will start improving. We cannot work wonders.

Genocide Charges Dropped for Former Cluj Leaders

AU1312213392 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1717 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 11/12/1992—The Military Prosecutor's Office has completed the investigation of persons involved in the events of December 1989 in Cluj-Napoca. The Military Prosecutors' Department of Romania's Prosecutor General decided, in this case, to cease penal investigation of defendants Ioachim Moga, former first secretary of the Cluj County RCP [Romanian Communist Party] Committee, Constantin Niculae, former member of the Executive Political Committee of the RCP Central Committee, Iulian Topliceanu, former commander of the Cluj Garrison, and Ioan Serbanoiu, former chief of the Cluj County Inspectorate of the Interior Ministry, because the evidence found against them does not substantiate the charge of genocide.

Likewise, the following defendants got a reprieve from criminal investigation: Major Valerian and Captain Ilie Dicu, as the evidence produced against them does not form the object of criminal law.

The prosecution also decided to drop charges against former Army officers and conscripts, as no facts evidenced against them fall under the criminal law, and to separate the case from and further investigate about unidentified gunners who shot in the areas of Libertatii Square, Hotel Metropol, Hotel Astoria, and the beer factory.

Tudor Protests News Report, Demands Ban on UDMR

AU1212192992 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] Greater Romania Party [PRM] President Corneliu Vadim Tudor held a news conference today, where he said, quote, the PRM protests the unspeakable methods of certain foreign publications and news agencies that misrepresent social and political reality in Romania, unquote. Tudor mentioned a REUTER news item, which states that a so-called anti-Semitic congress organized by the PRM is scheduled for Bucharest. Tudor said the news item is an act of diversion meant to create confusion and disorder and to damage Romania's international image.

PRM deputies demand that the senatorial commission reopen the inquiry concerning the activity of the Petre Roman government and they condemn the passive attitude of the General Prosecutor's Office, which, quote, failed to fulfill its duty, defying good manners and the people's poverty and craving for justice.

Reporters attending the news conference were also told that considering the latest provocative acts of the radical Hungarian leaders, the PRM demands that the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] be outlawed. UDMR, which is organized on the basis of ethnic, revisionist, and anti-Romanian principles, is responsible for the incidents that have broken out between the Romanian majority and the Hungarian ethnic minority in Romania, Tudor asserted. Tudor praised the establishment of the Impreuna [Together] Association, lead by poet Gyozo Hajdu [poet laureate of former dictator Nicolae Ceausescu], as that association can prove that Romanians and Hungarians can live together on good terms.

Stoica Calls For PNL Leader's Resignation

AU1312113492 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 4 Dec 92 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Valeriu Stoica, former member of the Standing Delegation of the National Liberal Party, by Doina Doru and Raluca Stroe Brumariu in Bucharest on 3 December: "I Was Offered a Post in the Government"]

[Excerpts] [ROMANIA LIBERA] In your opinion, what are the reasons for your and Mr. Radu Stroe's recent expulsion from the National Liberal Party [PNL]?

[Stoica] First of all, I would like to say that the expulsion decision is not in accordance with the statute. When I say this, I have two arguments in mind:

First, this Executive Bureau, which met last Wednesday [2 December] and decided our expulsion from the PNL, was set up in an unstatutory way. An attempt was made within the Standing Delegation to impose a new PNL organizational scheme by making proposals for the party leadership. But the Standing Delegation did not accept [PNL President] Mr. Radu Campeanu's maneuver, invoking a very serious consideration for not discussing this scheme—namely, that it would imply a change in the statute, which can only be changed by the National Conference. In spite of the discussions in the Standing Delegation, Mr. Campeanu imposed this new functioning scheme by completing the Executive Bureau with more people than the Bureau had until then. Almost the entire PNL leadership was practically changed. Mr. Campeanu tried to put the National Conference before an accomplished fact and selected for the Executive Bureau people who accepted him as leader.

The second argument is that decisions on expulsions from the party are not being taken by the Executive Bureau, but by the Standing Delegation. Now, we come to the core of the matter. With this expulsion, they tried to decapitate the Group for Moral and Political Reform Within the PNL [headed by Radu Stroe, Valeriu Stoica, Constantin Balaceanu Stolnici, and Nicolae Enescu]. What Mr. Radu Stroe and I did was not done haphazardly, but had been decided by the Group, which does not have elected leaders, rather leaders of opinion. Therefore, one cannot logically justify the expulsion of two persons from this group, while all the other members stay in the PNL. It is obvious that an attempt was made at sowing discord among the group's members and annihilating it. Mr. Radu Campeanu's second goal was to prevent the presentation of a different position at the PNL National Conference. [passage omitted]

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Of the more than 20 members of the group, only two were expelled. How do you explain that?

[Stoica] It is all quite obvious. If all 20 had been expelled, then the people would have noticed that it was a strong group. Second, attempts were made to intimidate the others. This is the "divide and rule" strategy which Mr. Campeanu knows so well. [passage omitted]

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Does your expulsion have any connection with the idea of the unification of the liberal movement?

[Stoica] Of course. Mr. Campeanu has his own script for the reunification of the liberal movement. He wants to do this liberal reunification not only with the New Liberal Party [NPL], which is a liberal grouping of sorts, but also with the Romanian Ecology Movement [MER] and the Republican Party [PR]; there are also discussions with the Agrarian Democratic Party of Romania [PDAR] and proposals were made to the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR]. If these forces were to unite, they would not represent a true Liberal Party. At most, they would be an operetta-like liberal opposition, making the play of the Cotroceni Palace. The truly liberal script that should be followed, and which makes Mr. Campeanu uneasy, is a script to include the truly liberal forces—and I do not mean only those parties that

call themselves liberal, but also the Civic Alliance Party [PAC], which, of late, has increasingly displayed liberal options.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] You were accused that you want to become PNL president....

[Stoica] In my opinion, the matter of the party's leadership must be resolved by the National Conference in a democratic way, not behind the scenes. I also said that, in my opinion, Mr. Campeanu should resign from the position as party president. The fact that I do not accept him as leader—because I consider him responsible for the party's failure in the election—makes him turn things upside down, moving the debate from the sphere of principle into the sphere of the struggle for power. Here is my principled argument: I do not want to become the president of the PNL, which does not represent anything today on the political scene. It would be ridiculous to struggle to become the president of a party, which has no future in Romania. I struggle for liberal unification. Therefore, the matter of striving for a function in the PNL does not arise, as long as I want to achieve a united liberal party. For the time being, I believe that the position of PNL president is devoid of any significance.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Why did you not leave the party, like many others did?

[Stoica] On the one hand, I never liked the idea of migrating from one party to another; neither did I like the idea of factions and dissidence. On the other hand, I hoped that the PNL can be brought back within the group of democratic forces. In the Standing Delegation, I saw that many people there think like myself. These people could represent the basis for the PNL's revival. Now, I believe that the party shows too much readiness to enter into a dialogue with the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN], PDAR, and PUNR. As a matter of fact, a proposal was made to me before the election, on behalf of Mr. Campeanu, to belong to a future government, where—aside from the PNL—the FDSN, PDAR, and PUNR would have also participated.

Liberal Groups Expect Merger During Feb Congress

AU1212201592 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Excerpts] Representatives of the Civic Alliance Party [PAC], the National Salvation Front [FSN], the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR], the Ecologist Movement of Romania [MER], and the Group for Political and Moral Reform of the National Liberal Party have attended the conference "Liberals and Liberalism," which was organized by the Liberal Alliance. Representatives of the National Liberal Party [PNL] and the New Liberal Party [NPL] did not attend the conference. [passage omitted]

Mr. Dinu Patriciu, leader of the National Liberal Party-Young Wing [PNL-AT], announced that Romania's liberal forces will meet congregate during the congress scheduled for 18-20 February next year, which is to be attended at least by PNL-AT, the National Liberal Party-Democratic Convention [PNL-CD], the PNL Group for Political and Moral Reform, and PAC, all those political groupings aiming to achieve a merger after that congress. Mr. Patriciu also highlighted the fact that a number of convergent issues might be found with the programs of FSN and the liberal wing of UDMR, which could result in an alliance with those political groupings.

Cabinet Spokesman Reviews Budget Decisions

AU1212212392 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1849 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 11/12/1992—At the government spokesman's weekly news conference reference was made to the major topics the cabinet approached during its session today at Victoria Palace like the bill regarding the modification of the 1992 state budget following some legislative measures and the evolution of prices. It suggests that such expenses should be increased as the social and cultural ones (9.2 billion lei), those for defense (17.4 billion lei), for public order (7.4 billion lei), the mining, energy, chemical, and other industries (68.3 billion lei), and for agriculture, forestry, water management, and environmental protection (18.6 billion lei), should be transferred from the state budget to the local ones (31.0 billion lei). The briefing showed the cabinet also discussed changes in the structure and functioning of ministries, the conclusion of price negotiations until December 24, 1992, and the setting up of a scientific commission to work out short-term governing programs.

Muslims, Croats, Serbs Sign Cease-Fire

LD1312185892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1815 GMT 13 Dec 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Dec. 13 (TANJUG)—Representatives of the Moslem, Croat and Serb forces in Bosnia-Hercegovina, at their meeting with the U.N. peace-keeping force commander on Sunday [13 December], signed a new agreement on a cease-fire in this ex-Yugoslav republic, a U.N. source in Sarajevo announced.

The ASSOCIATED PRESS Agency reported that the meeting was held at Sarajevo airport between military representatives of Bosnian Moslems, the Croatian Defence Council (HVO, the military formation of Bosnian Croats) and the Army of the Republic of Bosnian Serbs with French General Philippe Morillon [UNPROFOR commander].

REUTERS reported that the three sides agreed to open three corridors for safe passage of civilians about to leave Sarajevo.

It was fairly quiet on the Sarajevo battlefront on Sunday, the Bosnian Serbs' SRNA news agency reported making it clear that the morning was quiet except for sporadic infantry arms fire from Moslem positions on the outskirts of Sarajevo.

TANJUG reported from Zvornik in eastern Bosnia that Moslems resumed on Sunday morning their artillery and infantry attacks on Serb villages to the north and north-west of this town on the Drina.

SRNA agency quoted the Serb Army as saying that fierce fighting broke out on Sunday morning in the Serb village of Vucilovac, eight km east of Orasje in northern Bosnia where Croat forces were trying to break through the Serb positions. Both sides had losses, said the agency.

TANJUG reported that Moslem forces from the direction of Tesanj launched a strong artillery attack on the defence positions of the northern Bosnian town of Doboj which was hit by mortar shells.

Moslem artillery this morning also bombarded positions of Serb units outside Teslic, northern Bosnia, SRNA quoted Bosnian Serb sources in Banjaluka.

TANJUG reporters said, citing Serb military sources in Bileca in eastern Hercegovina, that the Army of the neighbouring Republic of Croatia on the night between Saturday and Sunday launched several mortar and anti-aircraft gun attacks from Dubrovnik hinterland against Serb positions in the Strujici village region in the Popovo Polje mountain valley.

Corridors To Open 18 Dec

LD1312221492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2053 GMT 13 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Dec (TANJUG)—The corridors along which civilians will be able to get out of Sarajevo (Ilidza-Lukavica, Stup-Ilidza-Butmir, and Dolac-Kobiljaca-Kiseljak) will open on 18 December. This was agreed upon at today's meeting of mixed military groups representing all three warring parties in ex-Bosnia-Hercegovina held at Sarajevo airport with UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] mediation, SRNA reports.

The agency reports that the agreement to open these corridors was signed by Major General Milan Gvero, deputy commander of the Serbian Army General Staff, on behalf of the Serbian side; Colonel Stjepan Siber, deputy commander of the headquarters of the so-called army of Bosnia-Hercegovina, on behalf of the Muslims; and Col. Dario Kordic on behalf of the Croatian Defense Council.

General Gvero said that apart from its signing, the agreement on the opening of the corridors also proposes a total cease-fire and that political talks be started in order to establish a lasting peace in the former Bosnia-Hercegovina.

"We have insisted that the other two sides finally should decide whether they opt for war or whether they opt for an end to it," Gvero said. He added that "the Muslim side has come up with various excuses and has rejected this proposal," while the Croatian side, in his words, at first accepted the Serbs' proposal only to eventually renege on it for reasons unknown to him.

As far as General Morillon is concerned, he was present at today's meeting in his capacity as mediator and head of the UNPROFOR delegation. General Gvero noted that the peace force commander for the former Bosnia-Hercegovina had no clear position, but pledged that he would inform the relevant UN bodies in Geneva about the Serbian side's peace initiative.

"Our proposal to put an end to the war should make it clear in the eyes of the entire world who favors war and who favors peace in the former Bosnia-Hercegovina," Gen. Gvero said.

Signing of Cease-Fire Denied

LD1312212892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2048 GMT 13 Dec 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, December 13 (TANJUG)—Representatives of the Muslim, Serbian and Croatian Armed Forces in Bosnia-Hercegovina agreed in principle in Sarajevo on Sunday [13 December], on the opening of three corridors allowing the citizens to leave Sarajevo, capital of the war-torn former Yugoslav Republic of

Bosnia-Hercegovina, said the United Nations Protection Force in Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR) headquarters in Belgrade.

UNPROFOR also said that negotiations on details of the agreement would be continued on Monday. It is expected that the corridors will be opened soon, but it is difficult to specify when, said UNPROFOR headquarters. According to the same source, representatives of the warring sides did not sign a new cease-fire on Sunday, but showed readiness to undertake measures for the overcoming of difficulties in implementing the November 10 cease-fire. ASSOCIATED PRESS had reported earlier that all three sides had signed the agreement during a meeting at Sarajevo airport with French General Philippe Morillon.

Representatives of Muslims, Serbs and Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina signed a cease-fire on November 10 in the presence of UNPROFOR representatives, but it was not observed.

Reports by the UNPROFOR command for Bosnia-Hercegovina stationed in Kiseljak, describe that the situation in Sarajevo on Sunday as quiet, as regards fighting. Sarajevo airport had been closed from December 3-10. One UNPROFOR plane landed at Sarajevo airport on Sunday, and two flights are planned for Monday, said UNPROFOR.

The Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina Army Command in Bileca said on Sunday evening that there had not been any greater conflicts on the Hercegovina battlefront on Saturday either. Serbian fighters did not return fire to occasional provocations by Croatian-Muslim forces from infantry arms.

The Croatian Army continued torching the remaining Serbian houses in the village of Sparozici near Trebinje on Sunday, said Serbian military sources. UNPROFOR observers have been informed of the matter.

In certain areas the Muslims continue to concentrate units and occasionally open mortar fire, along with making attempts at infiltrating reconnaisance-sabotage groups, said the Corps Command.

Serb Violations Reported

LD1412100692 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English/Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 14 Dec 92

[Report by Jeljko Ruzicic from Sarajevo]

[Excerpts] The renewed cease-fire agreement for the area of Sarajevo reached yesterday with the help and mediation from General Philipe Morillon, UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force] commander for Bosnia-Hercegovina, was observed neither throughout the night nor this morning by the chetniks. Overnight and early this morning the outskirts of the Stari Grad district, Dobrinja, Buca Potok, and Hrasno came under fire from artillery and mortar weapons. In other words, Sarajevo, which this morning woke up under a blanket of snow, continues to be a target for chetnik artillery.

The Sarajevo headquarters of the UNHCR [Office of the United Nations High Commissioner For Refugees] has announced that only two planes with humanitarian aid are scheduled to land at Sarajevo airport today. This amounts to merely a crumb of bread for the 350,000 hungry and cold people of the city. [passage omitted]

Without electricity the citizens are virtually freezing in damaged apartment blocks with no opportunity for any type of heating. At the main market this morning speculators were selling small sacks of fire wood adequate to provide heating for one day for 30 Deutschmarks.

Because of accelerated war operations in the Ilidza area the supply of water from the main pumping station at Bacevo, still in chetnik hands, was cut off this morning.

Siber Calls Talks a 'Farce'

LD1312225392 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 13 Dec 92

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Following the talks at Sarajevo airport today, head of the Croatian negotiators, Colonel Dario Kordic, said that the agreement on opening evacuation corridors from Sarajevo is the most that has been achieved so far. The agreement initially ensures free passage along the corridor for women and children and individuals over 60. They will travel by bus, accompanied by the UN Protection Force, on alternate days.

An agreement also was signed that revives a document signed last month on an unconditional cease-fire rather than on an end to the war. The aggressor side proposed, however, an unconditional end to the war, which was turned down by the negotiators of the Croatian Defense Council and the Bosnia-Hercegovina army. These talks, just like those that preceded them, are a farce by which the aggressors continue to fool the world with their false promises so that they can buy even more time, Colonel Stjepan Siber, head of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army's negotiators, has said.

Whenever the aggressors lose, or on the eve of important international events and new sanctions, they always offer peace, Siber added.

Sarajevo Reportedly Running Out of Food

AU1112130892 Paris AFP in English 1231 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Report by Michael Adler]

[Text] Sarajevo, Dec 11 (AFP)—Sarajevo airport, key to the U.N. relief effort, was set to reopen on Friday [11 December] as the besieged capital of Bosnia-Hercegovina faced worsening shortages or cut-offs in food, water, and electricity. Friday was the third straight calm day after a week of heavy fighting, but the closing of the airport and even road access over the past 10 days has signalled a

tightening of the Serbian siege and a worsening of the humanitarian situation as winter sets in.

Despite a crowd that has grown daily outside the city's largest bakery, no bread was for sale again Friday, the third day in a row, residents of Sarajevo said. The manager of the bakery, Husein Ahmovic, said Thursday that the bakery was short of fuel to run its production lines and was making 28,000 loaves of bread daily, only enough for hospitals and refugee centers. This is far short of the 120,000 loaves daily needed for Sarajevo residents to get their ration of 233 grams of bread a day.

Fighting in hills north of Sarajevo has "heavily damaged" electricity lines and "we're back to where we were when the United Nations started fixing the lines" over the summer, U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman Major Juan Villalon of Spain said Friday. Almost all of Sarajevo, where 380,000 out of a population of 600,000 are left, is without electricity. The Serbs have been besieging the Bosnia-Hercegovina capital since war began in the former Yugoslav republic in April. U.N. attempts to send teams to fix electrical lines often have to be abandoned due to snipers or shelling.

The city is down to only two days of chlorinated drinking water, said Zildzic Sead, president of the Sarajevo water company. He said, however, that the water in Sarajevo is fairly good and that chlorine gas to clean it should be coming from the Croatian port of Split, about 160 kilometres (100 miles) to the southwest. People have been boiling their water as a security measure since the siege began. Only half of Sarajevo receives water from the central supply, forcing people to use wells or walk to get water.

The city is now almost completely dependent for food on the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) relief effort. The main U.N. warehouse here has 200 tons of food, with two convoys expected Friday. UNHCR representative Larry Hollingworth said the relief effort was "days and days behind" and in the best of cases could only bring in 250 tons of food and supplies a day while Sarajevo needed 270 tons a day of food alone. British Captain Peter Jones said at the warehouse Friday that the problem was to build up a reserve for the times when fighting prevents convoys from coming to Sarajevo.

For the first time, since separatist Serbs besieging the town attacked the western suburb of Otes December 1, Bosnian Government forces fired more artillery rounds than the Serbs, according to U.N. counting. Incoming rounds to Serb positions were 91 on Thursday, while incoming to Bosnian positions was 35, U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman Juan Villanon told reporters Friday. The number of rounds fired during the heated battles a few days ago exceeded 3,000.

UN Plane Lands at Reopened Sarajevo Airport

AU1212162492 Paris AFP in English
1607 GMT 12 Dec 92

[Text] Sarajevo, Dec 12 (AFP)—Sarajevo's U.N.-guarded airport reopened Saturday [12 December] after closing 11 days ago because of fighting and several postponements due to bad weather.

A plane of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) landed in the afternoon, French officers at the airport said. Flights of the U.N. relief program for besieged populations were not resuming immediately. The U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) said in Geneva that its flights would probably not resume before Tuesday.

A spokesman said Friday that the UNHCR had been given written guarantees from the Serb and Bosnian government sides that they would not fire on planes, but governments operating relief flights were studying those guarantees.

Attacks Leave Sarajevo Without Water Supply

LD1312213292 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2050 GMT 13 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, Dec. 13 (TANJUG)—At the Sarajevo battlefront, fierce attacks by Moslem units on Serb-held positions on the outskirts of the city resumed in the afternoon and early evening on Sunday [13 December], the SRNA news agency of Bosnia-Hercegovina's Serbs has reported.

Due to artillery actions by Moslem forces from the direction of Mt. Igman and Hrasnica on Sunday, a 110-kv transformer station was heavily damaged on Sunday. The entire city area will be left without water supply until the transformer station is repaired.

In other sections of the Sarajevo battlefront, sporadic infantry fire was opened in the evening.

Serb Says Sarajevo Authorities Detaining Serbs

LD1112184092 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1718 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Dec (TANJUG)—Nikola Koljevic, member of Serb Republic's Presidency, told TANJUG today that "the Sarajevo authorities are doing everything to stop the inhabitants of this city from leaving." The Serb side called on the Muslim and Croat forces to enable the inhabitants of Sarajevo to leave the city regardless of their nationality, religion, and age.

In a telephone interview from Pale, Koljevic stressed that many Sarajevo Serbs' phone lines have been cut and that guards are posted in the larger buildings. "This is being done in order to prevent the people from leaving the city."

"According to reports in our possession, the Muslim side is preparing to continue its offensive, codenamed 'Envelope'," Koljevic said. He stressed that the Serb Republic, "despite everything, will continue to carry out activities for the liberation of the inhabitants of Sarajevo."

Airline Ready To Evacuate Sarajevo Children

LD1112173492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1603 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Dec (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Airlines (JAT) is ready to evacuate 5,000 children from Sarajevo, the airline stated today.

According to various assessments, there are about 5,000 children left in Sarajevo. It is assumed that there are 1,000 handicapped children among them. Taking the unsafe land corridors and the winter conditions into consideration, JAT has put its entire fleet at their disposal and is ready to transport the children not only to Yugoslavia but also to all parts of Europe and the world, the statement says.

The organizers of this project—JAT, the Yugoslav Red Cross, and Belgrade Radio and Television—are constantly in touch with UNICEF [United Nations Childrens' Fund], the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR], and other institutions because they cannot accomplish this project without their cooperation and agreement.

In view of the weather conditions, the evacuation should take place within the next 20 days, the statement warns.

Belgrade Radio Reports Strong Muslim Offensive

AU1212200492 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 12 Dec 92

[Report by Risto Djogo from Sarajevo]

[Text] There has been fierce fighting in Sarajevo. The Muslim forces carried out a fresh artillery-infantry attack on Serbian defensive positions on the Zuc and Vraca hills. Thousands of shells were heard in Sarajevo today. According to Serbian military sources, all Muslim attacks on Zuc were repelled and the Serbian defense was strengthened.

In Vraca, the strongest attacks by the green berets since the beginning of the war are currently underway between Ozrensaka and Milinklanska Streets. The Muslim side is using its heaviest artillery, including howitzers, guns, and tanks. More than 1,000 men were in the infantry attack. Serbian fighters are bravely returning fire and checking the breach by the green berets.

Since there are many who still claim that a Serbian offensive on Sarajevo is underway, they should come here to see for themselves who is carrying out the attack. After all, today the Muslim radio is openly saying that the offensive is being launched by the forces loyal to Alija Izetbegovic.

UN Says Croat Air Force Violating No-Fly Zone

LD1312174492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1708 GMT 13 Dec 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Geneva, December 13 (TANJUG)—The United Nations peace force in Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR) have informed cochairmen of the Geneva conference on the former Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen that the Croatian Air Force is regularly violating the no-fly ban above the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, said reliable circles in Geneva on Sunday [13 December].

UN Security Council Resolutions 781 and 786 ban all military flights above Bosnia-Hercegovina territory. A civil, ethnic and religious war between local Muslims, Serbs (Orthodox) and Croats (Catholics) because of differences over the country's future organization has been raging in Bosnia-Hercegovina for over eight months.

At least 60,000 troops of the Croatian Army are fighting on the side of the Bosnian Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina, as well as several thousand mercenaries, mostly mojahedin from Islamic countries who are fighting on the side of Bosnian Muslims.

Vance and Lord Owen have shown the UNPROFOR report with evidence of violations of the no-fly ban to Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency President Radovan Karadzic during a recent session of the working group on Bosnia-Hercegovina, pointing out that the accusations did not pertain to the Serbian side only.

UNPROFOR's report confirms that the Command of the Bosnian Serb Army had protested with UNPROFOR commander in Bosnia-Hercegovina General Philippe Morillon over no-fly violations on several occasions with justification.

In their protests, the Bosnian Serbs gave precise data on the number of aircraft, time and direction of flight and the speed at which they had passed overhead.

U.S. Defence Secretary Dick Cheney said on Saturday that the U.S. did not have any evidence that Bosnian Serb planes were flying in the no-fly zone, nor that they were bombing or carrying out other combat actions.

The U.S. only have data that the Bosnian Serb helicopters are flying in the no-fly zone, said Cheney in an interview to CNN cable television.

Bosnian Serbs had said earlier that their helicopters occasionally transported the wounded to hospitals over territory under their control.

UN Deputy Head Notes Presence of Croatian Units

LD1412125192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1121 GMT 14 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Dec (TANJUG)—The deputy head of the UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force] mission, Cedric Thornberry, said at a press conference in the international press center in Belgrade today that the Croatian Army was present in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

There is no doubt that the Croatian Army wants to make its presence in Bosnia-Hercegovina legal very soon, Thornberry said.

He said that UNPROFOR representatives had no knowledge about preparations for a foreign military intervention in Bosnia-Hercegovina and stressed that there were no plans for the withdrawal of the blue helmets from the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

According to Thornberry, Sarajevo airport is open, but humanitarian flights have not been renewed because the countries whose aircraft are used for the operation to dispatch aid for inhabitants of Sarajevo are not yet willing to risk the lives of their crews.

Thornberry stressed that more than 23,000 UNPROFOR members are deployed in five former Yugoslav republics. In the sixth republic—Slovenia—the blue helmets have liaison officers, he said.

Mazowiecki Blames Serbs for Most Atrocities

AU1312164592 Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 11 Dec 92 p 12

[Article by UN special envoy Tadeusz Mazowiecki: "Serbia Is the One To Blame Most"]

[Text] The incredible violations of human rights, which I had to report to the United Nations after two reconnaissance trips to the former Yugoslavia, now threaten to spread from Bosnia-Hercegovina to Kosovo, the Vojvodina, and the Sanjak. One might go back to historical analogies to explain this. This is done often there, but it only serves to arouse mutual feelings of hatred. The question about the religious aspect of this drama can also be asked. It is correct that there is an identification with national and religious issues: the Serbs with the Orthodox Church, the Croats with Catholicism, the Muslims with Islam. Nevertheless, this war does not have any characteristics of a religious war. Even if one takes national and religious circumstances into consideration, nothing justifies the horrifying violence, which is contemptuous of human life, and the violation of the most fundamental human rights, which has happened there on a mass scale. The so-called "ethnic cleansing" is not the result but the goal of this war. Tis is precisely the reason why it is aimed directly against human rights.

In Bosnia-Hercegovina the goal of establishing ethnically homogeneous regions is achieved by driving away the Muslim and Croatian population. Murder, violence, robbery, and burning houses are the methods. Mosques, churches, and cultural assets are destroyed; cemeteries are eradicated. In the course of my mission we went through villages where one house after another had been systematically burned. We met people who had seen their closest relatives killed. The people in Bosnia-Hercegovina are suffering on all sides, but the Muslim population grieves for most of the victims—it is afraid of being exterminated. The evidence collected does not leave any doubt about who is to be blamed: above all, the Serbian political and military leaders in Bosnia-Hercegovina. It is obvious that this policy of "ethnic cleansing" could not be implemented without support by state authorities of the Republic of Serbia and the leadership of the Yugoslav People's Army. The goals of this policy have already been achieved to a large extent. The Muslim and Croat populations flee en masse from territories controlled by the Serbs. Thousands of people are in internment camps, all threatened by death.

Serbs, too, are victims of serious violations of human rights. This is not, however, the result of state policy of the Bosnia-Hercegovina authorities but rather the reaction to the Serbian policy of "ethnic cleansing." These acts of violence also require decisive countermeasures. Similar atrocities, even though on a smaller scale, are also committed in areas in Croatia, which are controlled by Serbs, where the UN blue helmets are stationed. Terrorist attacks continue on the Croatian people and on members of other national minorities. The mass flight of people from these regions continues. Other victims of repression are the Serbs who oppose the policy of hatred and nationalism. Judicial authorities practically do not function there anymore.

Profound concern is also caused by the violation of human rights in the Republic of Serbia, above all against the Albanians in Kosovo, and against Croats, Hungarians, Ukrainians, Slovaks, and other ethnic groups. The Albanian people in Kosovo are discriminated against in schools, health care, and employment. Paramilitary groups and the influx of Serbian refugees in the Vojvodina, the use of "ethnic cleansing" methods against Muslims at the border between Sanjak and Bosnia, and the forced emigration of Muslims from this area give rise to increasing tensions.

It is not just the human rights of minorities that are threatened in Serbia. The Serbian people themselves can exercise their political rights only to a very limited extent. The government controls the mass media, television in particular, to which the democratic opposition does not get any access. At the same time, the impression was given via the media that an international conspiracy against Serbia exists. The sanctions are represented as blackmail or punishment of the Serbian people.

In Croatia, too, there are violations of human rights, with discrimination against Serbs above all. They are refused Croatian citizenship or their naturalization is delayed. Published lists of "people's enemies" and other pressures produce uncertainty and a feeling of being threatened.

What can the international community do against that? The scope of the drama requires quick and coordinated action. The prisoners in the camps must be liberated with the help of the International Red Cross, which does not have access everywhere. They must be freed particularly soon from places, such as Trnopol, where their lives are directly endangered. Survival of the refugees must be ensured in Bosnia-Hercegovina. For this purpose I have suggested the establishment of a security

zone, which could be controlled by UN forces and might give refuge both to the local people and to refugees from other regions. The fear that this would practically mean accepting the consequences of "ethnic cleansing" must be subordinate to the command of one's conscience to save human lives.

Certainly, this is only a temporary solution, but in the current situation it is absolutely necessary. Conversely, one would accept the result of "ethnic cleansing" precisely by leaving those driven away without effective help. They cannot go home, and there are not even the most elementary requirements to allow them to survive the winter.

In view of serious signs that war crimes are being committed in the former Yugoslavia, the UN Security Council has established an expert committee to investigate. It is supposed to establish the identities of those responsible as quickly and efficiently as possible and to take the culprits to task. This could certainly have a preventive effect.

It is essential to break through the information blackout that fans hatred and hostility practically everywhere. Independent, democratic mass media must be supported with information and technical assistance. The foundation of an international information agency to oppose the nationalist media campaign should be considered. Mobilizing public opinion internationally is extremely important. Stationing permanent observers on the entire territory of the former Yugoslavia, as I suggested to the UN General Assembly, might make it possible to collect information systematically about human rights violations and react to them more quickly.

The international community is facing an enormous challenge. What is urgently necessary is the determined political will to save people and prevent crime. The United Nations can do as much as the strength and the political will of its members, the states, are able to achieve. This will is what I have appealed to.

Presidency Member Assesses Edinburgh Declaration

AU1412123392 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 14 Dec 92

[Text] Replying to the question how he saw the Edinburgh Declaration, Ejup Ganic, member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, said the following in an interview for OSLOBODJENJE:

The Edinburgh Declaration is a significant step forward, particularly as the reservations that Britain and France had have been partially removed. They still have the chance to change that in the UN Security Council, although I do not believe that they will do so, Ganic added. But now that it has been adopted as the view of the EC, I do not expect that Britain and France will be a great obstacle in the Security Council. On the contrary, that would expose their hypocrisy.

One should add to that the statement by Dick Cheney that they have the technical ability to carry out the demands from the declaration if asked by the EC and the Security Council. In theory only one question remains: how will Russia react to that in the Security Council? China will probably be neutral, so I think that it will pass in the Security Council, Ejup Ganic said.

Presidency Member Urges German Intervention

LD1112170092 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Report by Zeljko Ruzicic from Sarajevo]

[Excerpt] Ejup Ganic, member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, today called on Germany to intervene militarily in the conflict in the Balkans or to supply arms to the defenders of Bosnia-Hercegovina. In an appeal to the Bundestag and the German government, Ganic asked for Bosnia-Hercegovina to be enabled to defend itself from aggression, Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina reports.

At the Sarajevo UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] headquarters journalists were informed today that it is still not possible to say precisely when flights will be resumed to Sarajevo airport and humanitarian flights will start again. The UNPROFOR representatives also reported an incident yesterday when, the statement said, unidentified snipers fired at two UN vehicles in Sarajevo. No one was injured in the incident. Journalists were also told that yesterday and today bad weather conditions prevented even UN aircraft from using Sarajevo airport for the transportation of UN officials.

The blue helmets today provided an escort for two teams of Sarajevo electricians who are to repair the major faults on power lines which have resulted in a complete breakdown in electricity supplies to Sarajevo since Monday. [passage omitted]

Boban Calls for Islamic Military Support

LD1212104692 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic 0750 GMT 12 Dec 92

[Text] Zagreb, 12 Dec (KUNA)—Mate Boban, the commander of the Croatian forces fighting the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina, has praised the results of the recent Islamic Conference Organization [ICO] meeting in Jeddah. He said that the ICO meeting reflected a strong sense of responsibility and represented a warning to the United Nations that it should carry out its duty of protecting the people of Bosnia-Hercegovina, who have been subjected to a large-scale aggression for the last eight months.

In an interview with KUNA here today, Boban said that the Muslim and Croatian fighters are in one trench fighting the common Serbian enemy. They are making great human sacrifices, despite the supremacy of the Serbian aggressors in both men and equipment, he stated.

Boban, who leads well-trained Croatian militia in southwest Bosnia, denied that there are any real conflicts between the Muslims and the Croats. He accused the Serbian media and the parties cooperating with them of exaggerating simple individual incidents that take place here and there among local commanders.

He did, however, call on the Islamic leadership in Bosnia-Hercegovina to draw up a more active and better organized plan of action, internally and externally, in which representatives of the Croats and the Muslims would participate side by side.

He called on those capable Islamic countries to provide adequate military support for the legitimate forces which are fighting the Serbian invaders in Bosnia-Hercegovina, stressing that the waging of a military counteroffensive against the Serbs in Bosnia is the ideal way to liberate the two-thirds of Bosnian territory now under Serbian control.

He warned that the Islamic world's indifference to the massacres and slaughter that are taking place against the Muslims in Bosnia, and against their "brethren" the Croats there, is an unforgivable crime.

Boban called on the UN Security Council to make a careful study of the Jeddah ICO meeting's resolutions and to adopt a resolution permitting Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia, as two states subjected to Serbian aggression, to import arms and equipment "for self-defense purposes."

He warned that, if they lose their republic and land, the people of Bosnia-Hercegovina will turn into "terrorists" tomorrow, destroying everything in Europe, and then "Europe and the whole world will face great fires which will be difficult to control."

He said that the ban on the importation of arms by the Serbs, Croats, and Muslims is an unjust resolution and represents an unjust attitude by the United Nations. It is not right to treat the aggressor and the victim of aggression equally, he declared. Besides, he added, there are huge factories for the production of sophisticated weapons and equipment inside Serbia, on behalf of which the former Yugoslav Army, with all its weapons and forces, has supported since the beginning of last year.

With regard to the transfer of the presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina to the Croatian representative in Bosnia by the end of this month, in accordance with the republic's internal Constitution, the leader of the Croats in Bosnia said that the Croatian minority "does not necessarily insist" on replacing Muslim Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic. There should, however, be a redistribution of portfolios so that the Croats may in return secure leading posts in the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina, he asserted.

Concluding his interview with KUNA, Boban said that the next 10 days will be decisive regarding the Serbian aggression. He stated that the practical cohesion of Muslims and Croats in the fields of fighting and politics will mark the start of the liberation of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Serbs Ready 'To Counter' Foreign 'Intervention'

LD1112190892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1813 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] Banja Luka, Dec 11 (TANJUG)—The commander for western Bosnia of the Army of Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs, Gen. Momir Talic said on Friday [11 December] he believed a foreign military intervention was possible and set out that the forces of Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs were getting ready to counter it.

"I would not advise American or any other foreign troops to come here, because they will surely not return," Gen. Talic told a news conference for domestic and foreign journalists. "This people has its pride and is ready fiercely to react to any aggressor," Gen. Talic said. He set out that Serbs were waging a battle for survival and freedom.

The former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina has for over eight months been torn by a civil, ethnic and religious war in which Muslims, Christian-Orthodox Serbs and Catholic Croats have been confronted. The fighting broke out because of differences of the three constituent peoples over the republic's constitutional order and the imposition of a unitary Muslim state. Gen. Talic warned all potential aggressors that Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs "have not so far engaged all available forces in their battle for freedom."

Bihac Colonel Protests To UN After Serb Attack

LD1312135892 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 1305 GMT 13 Dec 92

[Text] Croatian Radio's correspondent in the Western Bosnian town of Bihac reports that Serb gunners in Bosnia fired 10 shells at Croatian territory, inflicting heavy damage on the village of Velikikocaj [15 km south of Bihac]. Bihac defenders are also under fire with Serb forces reported to be attempting to regain some of the territory they lost.

Commander of the Bihac Croatian Defense Council [HVO], Col. Vlado Santic, has sent a protest to UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force] headquarters in Zagreb warning that his forces will fiercely respond to every new provocation from the Serbs even if it means putting the lives of UN peacekeepers in jeopardy.

Serbs Release 520 Detainees from Manjaca Camp

LD1312164292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1516 GMT 13 Dec 92

[Text] Banja Luka, 13 Dec (TANJUG)—Five hundred and twenty POWs [prisoners of war] were released from the Manjaca POW detention camp today. They will be exchanged for Serbs detained in Muslim and Croatian

camps in Bosnia-Hercegovina, according to the press center of the 1st Krajina Corps of the Serb Republic [of Bosnia-Hercegovina] Army in Banja Luka.

Most of the released POW's are Croats. There are no longer any Croatian prisoners in Manjaca.

The same source said that, in accordance with a recent agreement between Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic Presidency, and International Red Cross President C. Samaruga, preparations are under way for releasing a further 1,000 prisoners from this detention camp. The agreement envisages the complete closure of the Manjaca detention camp.

Muslims Launch Prosecution against Tuzla Serbs

LD1312184692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1740 GMT 13 Dec 92

[Text] Banja Luka, December 13 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Moslems in Tuzla have launched criminal proceedings against 541 Serbs for "war crimes against Moslems," said the Moslem TV studio from Tuzla (eastern Bosnia).

The information was read on Tuzla local television by a certain Rifat Karic who introduced himself as the president of the "commission for determining war crimes against Moslems," said the Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina Army in Banja Luka. Tuzla is controlled by the Moslems.

Karic told the Serbs in Tuzla that "all would end the way Hitler had predicted," i.e., they would be destroyed.

A Bosnian Serb Army statement which calls on well-informed military sources, claims that over 2,000 flats in Tuzla in which Serbs had lived, have been given to "Moslems of merit." The Serbs have been put into concentration camps.

An ethnic, religious and civil war between local Moslems and Croats (Catholics) on the one side and local Serbs (Orthodox) on the other, has been raging in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina for over eight months. Local Moslems and Croats are being helped by regular Croatian Army troops and foreign mercenaries and mojahedin. The war started because of Bosnia-Hercegovina's secession from Yugoslavia and the enforcement of a unitarian state, according to the Moslem concept.

Gradacac Defenders Mount 'Unstoppable Offensive'

LD1112220192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Report by VECERNJI LIST correspondent Ekrem Avdic from Gradacac]

[Excerpts] After seven months of active defense, the heroes of Gradacac, the symbol of the ancient Bosnian state and present-day resistance to the Serbian-Montenegrin fascist soldiery, have launched an unstoppable offensive.

In yesterday and today's fighting, the heroes of the 107th Brigade of the Muslim-Croat Defense Council and the units of the II Corps of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army have pushed back the chetniks to the west and liberated three temporarily occupied villages—Vida, Novalici, and Donje Krecane. The chetniks have also been driven back from their positions near the secondary school. [passage omitted]

So far in this offensive action 19 chetniks have been captured and dozens have been killed. [passage omitted]

Mostar Croat Leader Protests Halilovic Statements

LD1312193492 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 13 Dec 92

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The absence of a storm on the Mostar front has been compensated by plenty of turbulence in the political life of Mostar. In a protest letter in reaction to a memo from Sefer Halilovic, chief of staff of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army, lodged with the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency and Government, Jadranko Prljic, President of the Croatian Defence Council [HVO] of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna says:

We have been fighting and are prepared to fight to the end to win freedom and state independence for Bosnia-Hercegovina as well as freedom for the Croatian community within it and for the Muslims and parts of the Serb people who see Bosnia-Hercegovina as their homeland. However, having achieved a high degree of concord with leading Bosnia-Hercegovina officials over the purpose and the reasons for the existence of the HVO and the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosna as a form of an interim executive authority in the liberated areas, we are again often faced with statements by officials from the Bosnia-Hercegovina political, state, and military leaderships denying any such agreements and plans for cooperation.

In his protest letter, Prljic notes that such behavior can no longer be treated as a coincidence but, unfortunately, as a form of duplicitous political activity. The presidency and the government are therefore asked to state if the individuals and groups guilty of such behavior have been acting with the knowledge and blessing of some of these bodies, or rather their individual officials, to the detriment of Bosnia-Hercegovina, as a state, and of the interests of the Croatian and Muslim people. In the view of the HVO, the only legitimate structure to be accepted by the HVO is that of Bosnia-Hercegovina as a community [words indistinct] consisting of three constituent units as envisaged by the EC, Prljic says in his letter of protest. He stresses in conclusion that the current practice of agreement reaching and cautious reaction serves merely to buy time and only benefits (?the aggressor).

Tudjman Sends Letter To UN Security Council

LD1112154592 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] Jure Radic, the head of the Croatian president's office, and Zeljko Matic, the president's foreign policy adviser, called a meeting early this morning with ambassadors and charges d'affaires accredited to Croatia, headed by the doyen of the diplomatic corps, Giulio Einaudi [Papal nuncio to Croatia] and handed them a letter sent by President Franjo Tudjman to Chinmaya Gharekhan, president of the UN Security Council [UNSC] concerning the involvement of the UN peacekeeping forces in Croatia.

The letter draws attention to the current problems afflicting not only Croatia but also the international community, which has taken on the role of actively taking part in establishing and maintaining peace in the region of former Yugoslavia. Dr. Tudjman says with regret that the joint efforts of the United Nations and the EC have not so far yielded the expected results. On the contrary, after the initial positive steps, progress has been prevented by extremist Serbs in the protected zones, who have enjoyed encouragement and decisive political and material assistance from the Serbian, or rather Yugoslav, authorities in Belgrade. In armed banditry the defenseless ageing population which has remained in these areas is particularly suffering. Since the arrival of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] in these areas more than 600 Croat citizens have died. Even some members of the so-called local police are disgusted by the barbarity of the Serbian special militias which is also directed against moderate Serbs in these areas. Recently attempts have also been made in the Western Sector to ruin the modest results that have thus far been achieved, with Serbian extremists from Knin and Bosnia-Hercegovina visiting the area and publicly stating that a state of lawlessness will take over such as in other parts of the UN protected zones.

It is quite clear that the the failure of the implementation of the peace plan is the responsibility of the authorities in Knin who have abused the confidence shown in local authorities with regard to the implementation of a part of this plan, Tudjman stresses in the letter to the chairman of the UN Security Council. He notes that only the first phase of the Vance plan has been realized, that is the forces of the Yugoslav Army have withdrawn from the area of the Republic of Croatia, while everything else has remained unfulfilled, and he adds that to resolve the existing crisis, stronger measures than those used so far by the international community are needed, primarily on the part of the UN Security Council.

President Tudjman puts forward a proposal that UNPROFOR be mandated to fulfill its tasks according to the Vance Plan by force, if needed. Furthermore, UNPROFOR, in line with UN Security Council Resolution 769, should urgently introduce strict monitoring of international borders of the Republic of Croatia with the Republic of Serbia and the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina to prevent uncontrolled transit of goods and movement of people, particularly the passage of armed formations or the supply of weapons and combat equipment.

Point three of the letter asks UNPROFOR to disarm all Serb paramilitary formations in the UN protected areas and the so-called Pink Zones until 31 December this year and enable the return of refugees to the Pink Zones until the end of the year, and to the UN protected areas until the end of the mandate of UNPROFOR, i.e. until spring next year.

It further calls for the reestablishment of rail and road transport on the Zagreb-Slavonski Brod-Lipovac route, which is a part of the road linking Europe with the southeastern part of Europe, to remove a blockade of all economic activities in this area, until 31 December this year. President Tudjman also asked UNPROFOR to enable the Croatian authorities to erect a temporary pontoon bridge on the Maslenica Zdrilo straits by 31 December and also to begin with the construction of a new bridge to be completed before the tourist season in the year 1994. He also asked that the Croatian authorities be enabled until 31 December to use the international airports of Zemunik near Zadar and Klisa near Osijek and to clear the Peruca Dam of mines.

The Croatian president also asks UNPROFOR to enable the Croatian authorities to carry out repairs on the North-South power transmission line which would make the reestablishment of the whole system of the transmission of electric energy possible and the Croatian Electricity Industry function, which is very important for the power supply of the whole of Croatia, particularly the North and South sectors.

President Tudjman also asks in the letter that the Split-Knin-Karlovac-Zagreb road and rail transport be restored until February next year, and also to make sure that elections for the Chamber of Counties of the Croatian Assembly and for bodies of local self-administration in municipalities and counties be carried out in UN protected areas under the supervision of the UN and EC monitors, which is also called for by the Serbian National Party and a majority of the Serb population opposing the extremist policy of the imposed leaders who removed the legally elected representatives.

In the view of the normalization of life in UN protected areas the continuation of the Serb extremist resistance to the implementation of Vance's Plan which is politically and materially backed by the Serbian authorities from Belgrade and Bosnia-Hercegovina must urgently be prevented. This is a condition for the reestablishment of the functioning of Croatian administrative, social and health services, PTT, banks, etc. in those areas; the supply of foodstuffs and medicines, the arrival of physicians and medical teams and priests of all religions to help the population which is exposed to terror from the Serb extremists and the paramilitary formations.

The Republic of Croatia, for its part, is fully committed to providing unreserved support and help in the implementation of the Vance's Plan regarding these demands. It will unconditionally protect human rights and rights of ethnic communities in UN protected areas on the basis of its constitution, the constitutional law on human rights and rights of ethnic minorities and all other laws from its legal system, including the law on abolition.

The Republic of Croatia supports the UN efforts to establish an ad hoc international court for war crimes and investigation of cases of perpetrating criminal acts against the international humanitarian law, through the UN War Crimes Commission, on the basis of the UNSC Resolutions.

The letter from President Tudjman to the UNSC chairman stresses in conclusion that all efforts by the Croatian authorities are directed toward the creation of conditions for the cessation of crisis, putting an end to bloodshed on the territory of former Yugoslavia, and reestablishing a permanent peace in this part of Europe.

Krajina Authorities Not To Accept Geneva Results

LD1212203592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1913 GMT 12 Dec 92

[Text] Knin, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—Possible stands and conclusions of the Geneva Conference on Yugoslavia concerning the Republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] will not be obligatory for its nation and its legal bodies, the government in Knin announced today.

The RSK Government bases this stand on the earlier adopted assembly conclusion whereby results of any talks about resolving the political crisis in the former Yugoslavia will not be accepted if legal representatives of the Krajina authorities are not present at the talks.

A statement says Krajina is not a party in talks at which, as is stressed, it should be present by common sense.

The statement says the RSK Government has until now received no answer to its request to take part in the talks.

RSK Pledges To Continue Struggle for Rights

LD1312200992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1813 GMT 13 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, December 13 (TANJUG)—The foreign minister of the Republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK], Slobodan Jarcevic, said in Belgrade on Saturday [12 December] that the Krajina authorities would persevere in their struggle for the rights of the Serbian people in Krajina and Croatia.

The RSK was proclaimed last December by Serbs living within the administrative borders of the breakaway Yugoslav Republic of Croatia in parts where they are the majority population, disagreeing with Croatia's secessionist policy and intentions to reduce the status of Serbs to that of a national minority. These were the main reasons for last year's war between Serbs and Croats in Croatia. Since March 1992, the territory of RSK has been controlled by the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). RSK does not recognize Croatian laws or its authorities.

Jarcevic told a gathering, entitled "Serbs in Krajinas in their struggle for self-determination" organized by Serbs from RSK and Croatia, that the Krajina authorities would persevere in the struggle for the "unification of Serbian ethnic regions annexed by Croatia."

Some border regions or municipalities between RSK and Croatia, where Serbs are the majority population, are not included in the peace plan of Cyrus Vance on the deployment of peacekeeping forces, and they are still under Croatian jurisdiction.

Former Yugoslav Minister Without Portfolio Radmila Milentijevic told the gathering, attended by more than 3,000 people, that Serbs were under tremendous pressure from the world "because we succeeded in our struggle to defend our land in the Krajinas and Bosnia-Hercegovina, preserve peace in Serbia and create Yugoslavia."

Milentijevic accused Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic of "betraying the interests of the Serbian people in Krajina" of agreeing to recognize the former Yugoslav Republics within their administrative borders which were drawn by the Communist authorities after World War II, headed by Josip Broz Tito (1892-1980).

Milentijevic, who resigned from the Federal Government in November because she disagreed with the policy of the Yugoslav prime minister, also said that "Panic has taken up the position that everyone is guilty in war-torn Bosnia-Hercegovina and that we will not attack anyone. He thus enabled (Bosnian Moslem leader) Alija Izetbegovic to attack us," she added.

A war between local Moslems and Croats on one side and Serbs on the other has been raging in Bosnia-Hercegovina for eight months. The war broke out over disagreement as to the republic's future order. Serbs refuse to live in a unitarian, Islamic Bosnia-Hercegovina otherwise being urged by the Moslem leadership.

Zagreb Radio Issues Latest Refugee Figures

LD1112231992 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 2205 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] Last night, 92 refugees from Banja Luka arrived in Novska. Another 513 Croatian and Muslim refugees, this time from Bosanska Gradiska and Prijedor, also arrived in the last 24 hours. Of all these refugees, 70 will stay in Croatia while the rest will travel on to western countries. However, another group of people leaving Sanski Most did not arrive as expected apparently because the Serbs did not permit them to travel to Croatia.

Tudjman's Position Seen as Threatened

93BA0304A Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Nov 92 p 2

[Article by Jelena Lovric: "Tudjman on Krvavi Most"]

[Text] *As a sort of buffer zone and a skilled manipulator of human material, Tudjman has been able so far to make use of both Gradec and Kaptol by standing on Krvavi Most [Bloody Bridge] between them—which he himself recently used as a historical metaphor for the reconciliation of the divided Croatian people—but the tensions are now growing constantly and the war games over power have come so close to the president himself that it is not certain whether he will become their victim.*

When the Croatian president recently, and a bit unusually, became an honorary citizen of his own city, he used a historical reminiscence about the reconciliation of ancient Kaptol and Gradec and the Krvavi Most between them, which became a meetingplace instead of a place of conflict. Although he spoke about reconciliation as a completed process—"We were only able to achieve our own sovereign state, independent and internationally recognized, after the reconciliation of the divided Croatian nation, the Croatian nation that was divided throughout its history, especially during World War II, the reconciliation of native and emigrant Croatia, and the creation of the unity of all Croatian lands." The lovely historical metaphor sounded more like an attempt to close the growing rift with the palm of his hand.

The Croatian unity that Tudjman is talking about, and which at one time seemed real, established first by hope, but above all by the fact of war, is dangerously splitting at the seams. Among other things, this is because constant attempts are being made to stuff the Croatian people, whatever that means, into the bed of Procrustes, in which there is always something that does not fit. As in the past system, an attempt is being made to achieve unity by amputating everything that does not fit into the imposed patterns, regardless of whether it is the past, present, or future.

The unity of all Croatian lands is no greater today than it was before. Of course, Zagreb, through its policy, is producing a regional autonomy movement, and by giving preference to the Hercegovina line it is distancing from the center those Croatian lands which are geographically closer to it. Although emigrant Croatia is trying today to impose its own criteria as mandatory upon all of Croatia, these years will probably go down in history as a time of a great exodus. There are no official data on this, but there is a frightening wave of people who are leaving to seek their prospects—some economic, some political, and some merely human—across the border.

Tudjman's citing the example of unified Zagreb, however, seems to be addressed primarily to his closest collaborators. Even though on this occasion as well he was idyllically and sovereignly surrounded by all sorts of entourages, it seems that among them Tudjman was actually on a Krvavi Most, and it is uncertain whether the rift in Croatia will sally across it or whether its reconciliation will start. As a sort of buffer zone, but also a skilled manipulator of human material, he has so far been able to make use of both Gradec and Kaptol, and thus of their mutual tensions and hostilities. The tensions, however, are growing, and the war games over power have come so close to the president himself that it is no longer certain whether he will also become their victim.

Concessions to the Right Wing?

The film about Bruno Busic was a clear sign that at least one side was not in favor of reconciliation, since, as Vice Vukojevic said, "reconciliation means abandoning one's own position and crossing over to some other one." The HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] right wing, in any case, has been dissatisfied with its position since this year's elections, and it has been particularly irritated because of the attempts to have the Community shaped into a moderate party, something that it logically perceives as a narrowing of its own space. Its real rage, however, is aroused by the increasingly greater concentration of former communists in the party—not only the adaptable chameleons, but also the technocratic ones, who as practical people are inclined toward rationality, and who, as self-confident experts, cannot have a guilt complex imposed upon them because of their former possession of a red membership card—they are not letting themselves be blackmailed by this.

Although an attempt was thus made, probably deliberately, to neutralize the right-wing pressure, it struck back, among other things through the film about Busic. It seems that after its showing it is becoming clearer that the HDZ extremists are threatening all those who do not belong to them, if necessary even within the innermost core of the leadership. President Tudjman, as his interpreters say, would like to destroy the Ustasa nucleus within the HDZ, but he will not let his own right-wingers be touched, not just because he does not dare to because he could thus be criticized by their backers, but also because he does not want to. In the first place, he has not given up his intention of heading the party of all Croats, and in the second place, Tudjman thinks that he can keep them under control, even if they are no longer eating out of his hand... as if his supremacy is nevertheless obligatory.

The Croatian president will now consent to encouraging the antifascists, who would engage in polemics with those with the opposite positions, but he will be very careful to make sure that they do not criticize him in that regard. He will particularly watch out for this after Misetic's interview, which spells out for the first time a political option compared to which Paraga's Rightists are acting like a kindergarten. The announcement by the two former ministers that they are forming a party which will also allegedly be joined by some prominent members

of the ruling party will probably have, as its first practical consequence, the concessions that Tudjman will make to his own right wing.

The question, however, is whether he is not also already becoming their prisoner a bit, because if that faction has entered into the already almost open conflict with strongman Josip Manolic as well, then it is clear that it feels very strong and that it will not suffer from any scruples regarding the government authorities either. Of course, it is necessary to bear in mind that the attempt to eliminate Manolic is by no means unambiguous. In addition to those who cannot forgive him for his past, his removal would be welcomed by all those who think that he "knows too much," who are bothered by his diligent gathering of information even on those who are inclined to abuse their positions. Those involved in this are probably mostly the younger, extremely ambitious types for whom a lightning-fast career only inflames their appetites to seize control over the entire area of national security.

The right wing is much more influential within the ruling party than it seems at first glance. It is not loud, but it is powerful. Its restraint toward the public is deceptive, but it is persistently seizing positions, deploying its people, and, which is particularly disturbing, it is doing this with reliance upon the armed forces. This is indicated by the recent retirement of a group of officers, and now the departure of General Tus as well. There has been distrust of the army in Croatia from the beginning, and tensions between those who came from the former Yugoslav army and those who were gathered from other sides. This was also demonstrated in the relationship between the mostly impotent headquarters and the Ministry of Defense, which actually made the decisions.

The departure of General Tus—in view of the length of service of the president's advisers, it can be considered definite, although somewhat slow—is a sign of the gradual, but complete ouster of those people marked by Yugoslavism, which has obviously not been forgotten, regardless of what they have done in the meantime. Perhaps it will be easier for General Bobetko to find a common language with Minister Susak than a man who remained an intellectual even though he wore a uniform succeeded in doing.

One could often hear from the government, in arguing for its method of solving the problem with the members of the HOS [Croatian Defense Forces], that it is also dangerous to the state when weapons are in extremist hands. President Tudjman surely knows that it would be even more dangerous if the entire army became a tool in radical hands. If he does not take this into consideration in time, Croatia could get in its army what Yugoslavia had in its own army, an independent political power that will not be the servant of policy, but rather its creator—and we know what kind of policy can be wielded by a hand that holds a weapon.

Responsibility of the Left

That is why at this time Croatia needs a political balance, perhaps more than abstract reconciliation—especially if it is based on leveling and correcting the past or if it does not go beyond general proclamations. For a balance, however, both left and right are needed. As Lech Walesa recently said, in explaining why he was helping the left, both the left foot and the right foot are needed for stable walking. It seems that Croatia is slowly losing its balance and increasingly leaning toward the right. This is not just because the right is too strong, but also because the left is too inadequate. Even though there is no strong right-wing party, one must take into account the influence of the ultra-right wing of the ruling party, especially if it has support within the military structures and especially because it is assisted by the dominant tone in most of the media, which have recently been using the Lithuanian syndrome to frighten people, without seeing that the real danger is not that the communists could return, but rather that this no longer seems as terrible to an increasingly large part of the population as it did a year or two ago.

If Croatia starts to slide more definitely toward the right, however, it will also be the responsibility of those who are articulating leftist political options, but who have prevented the creation of a respectable leftist party through their fragmentation and their acting as if they were still in power, their protection of their own sinecures, and finally, the leadership ambitions of their leaders. In that regard, unfortunately, they cannot handle their historic responsibility. That is also evident from the fact that Mika Tripalo is being proposed as leader of the left by those who do not have anything to do with this option, but see the need to form a serious left wing.

Croatia's stability cannot depend on one party, even if it is the ruling party, because what happens then is that its internal tensions shake the entire political sphere. In particular, Croatia's stability cannot depend upon whether the president will succeed in controlling the members of his party and his colleagues, and whom he will prefer at which moment. All of Croatia cannot jump like a seesaw depending on how Vukojevic or Mesic stands in the presidential courts. In the ceremonial charter that he was awarded along with the title of honorary citizen, Tudjman is proclaimed, along with the other unbearably sycophantic endearments, both the resurrector and the spiritus agens of the modern Croatian state. Its fate is being resolved today on Krvavi Most.

Croatian Envoy to United States Interviewed

93BA0291D Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 24 Nov 92 p 3

[Interview with Dr. Petar Sarcevic, Croatian ambassador to the United States, by Hrvoje Herceg in Washington, D.C., on 19 November: "'We Take Our Rhythm From Washington'"]

[Text] In the White House on Thursday, 19 November, President George Bush accepted the credentials of the first Croatian ambassador to the United States, Dr. Petar Sarcevic. This was the end of a lengthy and very encouraging diplomatic effort on the part of Croatia to gain full recognition from a country where about two and a half million people of Croatian origin live. Washington was among the last Western capitals to recognize Croatian independence, but that recognition was a breakthrough.

We talked to Ambassador Sarcevic in the office of the Republic of Croatia in Washington not long after he returned from the White House, where he presented his credentials to President Bush.

[Herceg] How did you feel as the first Croatian ambassador to cross the threshold of the White House?

[Sarcevic] This was a great event for me, because I am aware of the honor and trust placed in me to represent Croatia in the United States. At the same time, this is also a great burden. I am aware of my responsibility and of the job that is to be done here. At the same time, I am very grateful to Dr. Franjo Tudjman, the president, for having chosen me for such a responsible position. I hope that I will be able to make a contribution to bringing Croatia and the United States as close together as possible. I think that because of the large diaspora which Croatia has here, that kind of close relationship is not only necessary, but even normal. At the same time, I am very much aware that it is important to Croatia to have such relations with the United States, not only in order to establish business and political ties, but also because of the fact that the United States is today the only great power in the world, and accordingly it can make decisions about a great many things.

[Herceg] In your personal opinion, was it an accident that the presentation of credentials occurred on 19 November, or does that perhaps have some deeper significance?

[Sarcevic] I would not say that one should seek any deeper meaning in that. The problem was this: When I became an appointed ambassador, I was the ninth in line waiting to be received by President Bush. The President was at that time busy with the election campaign, and he spent very little time in Washington, and when he was here, he was unable to turn his attention to matters of this kind.

[Herceg] From the brief conversation which you had with President Bush and indeed from the general atmosphere that prevails in Washington at the moment, can a conclusion be drawn as to the direction relations between the United States and Croatia will take during these last weeks of the Bush administration? Is any movement being felt?

[Sarcevic] That is difficult to assess. One thing is certain: America is very disturbed by the events in the former Yugoslavia and especially by the events in Bosnia-Hercegovina [B-H] and Croatia. There is also intensive study of what will happen in Kosovo and Macedonia. As for relations with Croatia, my impression is that they are increasingly cordial and intensive every day. Judging by that, I would say that this is a development which we can only judge to be constructive.

[Herceg] Have you met anyone from the administration of the future President Clinton?

[Sarcevic] There simply has been no time for that. I was in Zagreb until a week ago, and then I took part in several large conferences. In addition, I thought it would be proper to present my credentials first, because before that I perhaps could not have acted as I can now when that act has been performed.

According to the rules of diplomacy, which often are even written down, strict distinctions are made between the various phases through which a diplomat passes when he comes to a country. It is the rule, for example, that after you have been proposed by your government or president, you must not act in any way until you have been accepted by the host country. That is, you do not take up the post from the moment you are proposed. Only after you have been accepted do you become a so-called ambassador designate. However, this still does not mean that you can do everything done by an ambassador with full authority. As a matter of fact, you are expected to do very little. Only after the next phase, when you have presented copies of your credentials to the undersecretary of state in the U.S. State Department, do you become an appointed ambassador. I became that three or four weeks ago. Only then are you considered the diplomatic representative of the state which has sent you, and communications normally go through, but you still are not expected to act. For instance, you cannot hold a press conference. You are expected to engage in normal activity only after you have presented your credentials. Thus, this day of presenting credentials is at the same time the moment from which I can represent the Republic of Croatia in the United States with full rights.

[Herceg] What will you tackle first?

[Sarcevic] I have many tasks ahead of me. I must bring together a small, but professional team as soon as possible. I hope that we will manage to do that relatively quickly, although it is not a simple matter at all. The United States has so many different people that you really have to be very familiar with it before you understand it. Perhaps I am fortunate, because I have been coming here regularly for the last 23 years. I taught here on several occasions and thus became familiar with scientific and university institutions in the United States. Washington is again something quite distinct in itself. The administration here is the most highly professional in the world. It is quite normal that at 1800 or 2000 hours you will find an official still at work in the State Department. Accordingly, they work here day and night, and we must also take up this approach if we want

them to accept us as a partner. The first thing, then, is to create a team which will be able to operate with that kind of professionalism.

I see establishment of bilateral relations as the second task. By this, I mean the numerous bilateral treaties which have to be concluded. We began quite a bit in that sense during the visits of Dr. Zdenko Skrabalo, foreign minister. What we did at that time was to set forth in conversations what we want, and we have already been sent, for instance, the draft of a treaty on protection and promotion of investments. This is an important bilateral treaty that will certainly contribute to better establishment of business relations. Also, we have already prepared the draft of a treaty on avoiding double taxation, that is, a treaty on tax problems which arise in relations between two countries. We also expect that we will improve mutual relations by concluding a consular convention. However, that is only part of the work which I expect in that area of bilateral treaties. That is, we need to regulate a number of problems, and my goal is to regulate them in a modern way, in an equal way that will help Croatia to establish as soon as possible not only close business contacts, but close human contacts as well.

And then there is also the question of monetary institutions. The IMF, the World Bank, and a number of other institutions have their headquarters in Washington, and we have already begun to act in that area. I expect that Croatia will be able to become a member of the IMF relatively soon, and then steps have to be taken toward the World Bank and its members. It is through that effort that I expect we will manage to bring not only money, but also programs, for the rebuilding of Croatia.

Beyond that, it is my position that the way to help Croatia is to establish cooperation between universities, to exchange experts, to train a number of young people in this country, and for U.S. professors to go to Croatia. I am aware of the quality of U.S. universities, especially what are called the graduate schools. This is also one of the directions on which we would like to work.

Our main task, of course, is the one which I have left to the end, daily communication with the State Department, the White House, the Congress, and numerous other institutions of the U.S. Administration, because only in that way will we be able to have the relations we want to have with the United States.

[Herceg] And finally, when do you plan to move into the building which will house the Croatian Embassy?

[Sarcevic] I do not know the precise date, but I hope that sometime during December we will move into the building where the Croatian Embassy will be, Dr. Petar Sarcevic, ambassador of the Republic of Croatia in the United States, told us.

Federal

Statement Released on Milosevic-Churkin Talks

LD1212122292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1947 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Dec (TANJUG)—The stand of the Republic of Serbia is that only those solutions which equally respect the interests of all nations in the Yugoslav regions and which guarantee them equality can form a basis for establishing a stable peace.

This is stressed in a statement on the talks between Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin. The text of the statement, sent to TANJUG from the Office of the President of the Republic of Serbia also says:

"There was also discussion on a peaceful and just end to the Yugoslav crisis, particularly on establishing peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the efforts of the Republic of Serbia to ensure equal rights for all nations in the Yugoslav regions. The Serbian people do not want weapons, but peace, it is stressed.

It was noted in the talks that the introduction of sanctions against Yugoslavia violates the principles of the United Nations because Yugoslavia is blamed, contrary to the truth and the facts of the matter, for the aggression against Bosnia-Hercegovina, although it does not have a single soldier there, as has also been confirmed in official reports of the United Nations. It was those states with whose help the former Yugoslavia was broken up, which have had a crucial influence on this form of treatment of Yugoslavia and the questioning of its legality in the United Nations. Russia unfortunately did not oppose those partial interests and the policy of dictat, to the detriment of our country.

It is noted that it is the inalienable right of every nation to determine its own fate and solve its own internal issues. Proceeding from this the right to defend vital national and state interests also belongs to the Serbian nation. Serbia advocates equality among nations and states, and will not accept any attempts to threaten its territorial integrity or to deny to the Serbian nation the right to equally, like all other nations, realise its own right to self-determination.

It was stressed in the talks that a political solution to the crisis cannot be achieved by pressures on Serbia. In Bosnia-Hercegovina, as is known, a civil war is being waged which was caused by unilateral secession and the recognition of Muslim Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the threat to the equality of the Serbian people living there.

In the course of the meeting attention was also drawn to the unreasonable attitude of the Russian side with regard to deliveries of gas.

The Republic of Serbia will continue to make a contribution and to exert its political influence so that peace is established on Yugoslav soil and problems are solved in a legal and just manner, it was said in the talks.

Also taking part in the talks were Serbian Minister for Foreign Affairs Vladislav Jovanovic, and Russian Ambassador to Belgrade, Gennadiy Sikin."

Churkin Comments on Talks

LD1112132092 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1137 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Dec (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia is going through critical moments in its history, Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin stated in the Palace of the Federation in Belgrade today following talks with Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic and Yugoslav Foreign Minister Ilija Djukic.

According to Churkin, "a fierce battle is being waged today between two Yugoslavias—one is, unfortunately, moving toward a catastrophe, while the other is moving toward peace and the future of all nations who live on its territory and in its neighborhood." With this conclusion, Churkin stressed: "Russia will support the second Yugoslavia."

Dwelling on his talks with Prime Minister Panic, Churkin said that Russia will help Yugoslavia resolve some concrete problems, such as oil deliveries for humanitarian needs.

Finally, the Russian diplomat said the official Moscow is against foreign military intervention on the territory of former Yugoslavia. In this connection he said it is a very serious problem which must be resolved exclusively under the UN auspices.

Bosnian Initiative Agreed On

LD1112184592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1419 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Dec (TANJUG)—The FRY and Russia will undertake a joint initiative aimed at resolving the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina in a peaceful way. The initiative will be defined in Geneva next Tuesday [15 December] by Dr Svetozar Stojanovic, special advisor to the FRY president, and Vitaliy Churkin, Russian deputy minister of foreign affairs.

The agreement on the joint Yugoslav-Russian initiative was reached during a meeting today between FRY President Dobrica Cosic and Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin, who is paying a brief working visit to Belgrade. No details of the joint initiative have been revealed, but Churkin is expected to present the initiative at the ministerial meeting of the supervisory committee of the Geneva conference on the former Yugoslavia, scheduled for Wednesday, 16 December.

The meeting between President Cosic and Churkin focused on the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina and ways of

ending the war in that former Yugoslav republic. Vitaliy Churkin told the Yugoslav president that the Russian Government resolutely opposes military intervention in Bosnia-Hercegovina. He also told Cosic that Russia is interested in helping to settle the situation in the Balkans and that Russia's Balkan policy favors joint action and not confrontation.

The Yugoslav president assessed it as a wise policy which is "good for us." At the same time he expressed satisfaction about Russia's activity and interest in the events in the Balkans. "If this policy represents your firm strategy then it is of historic importance," said Cosic.

Dwelling on the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Churkin said it is vital to organize political and peace actions, especially in Sarajevo. However, he warned that positive signs from Belgrade unfortunately "clashed" with the horrific images shown in television.

Dobrica Cosic added that it is a question of a terrible civil and religious war such as Europe has never seen. "I ask myself what will become of these people in peace time, those who have survived all the horrors," said Cosic and added: "It is absurd to talk about Belgrade's belligerent behavior. I see it as plain stupidity. Peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina is a vital matter for us. We will be ruined if the war continues."

Expressing the FRY's interest in long-term cooperation with Russia, the Yugoslav president proposed a Yugoslav-Russian summit after the elections and after the formation of a new Federal Government. It would be "a working meeting and not a Slav gathering," he said.

Churkin said that he will inform Russian President Yeltsin about Cosic's proposal for the summit. Churkin drew special attention to Dobrica Cosic's letter to British Premier John Major and praised Cosic for what he wrote in it. He also regretted that Cosic did not send a similar letter to the Russian president. The Yugoslav president promised to take this into account in the future.

The Russian deputy foreign minister, who will represent his country at the forthcoming ministerial session of the supervisory committee in Geneva, was today also received by Federal Premier Milan Panic, Foreign Minister Ilija Djukic, and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

Political circles in Belgrade stressed that Vitaliy Churkin's working visit to the FRY, which was not announced beforehand, reflects the intention of Moscow, i.e. its foreign policy, to take a more active approach to the situation in the Balkans.

Customs Official Says Oil Embargo Observed

LD1112160692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1500 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 11 (TANJUG)—The oil embargo on Yugoslavia is strictly observed and petroleum is not entering the country, Director of the Federal Customs Administration Radosav Sekulic said on Friday [11 December].

Sekulic told reporters that Yugoslavia, however, had petroleum above all owing to its rational consumption.

Sekulic said that coal and electricity have to a large extent substituted petroleum. Yugoslavia also increased its domestic oil production and has made reserves on time.

Speaking about the situation on the border crossings, Sekulic explained that the latest standstills were caused by stricter control by neighbouring countries, particularly Hungary, "where UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] finds absolutely everything suspicious".

Sekulic said the Yugoslav customs service was being modernized with 15 million marks invested so far in new equipment and technology.

The construction of new crossings on Yugoslavia's borders with the former Yugoslav republics is under way. Two crossings are being built on Yugoslavia's border with Macedonia and one on the border with Croatia, Sekulic said.

A customs administration official Branislav Knezic said the new customs law, which came into force this month, was providing a radical simplification of the customs procedure through the introduction of a so-called single administrative document and a "just in time" system.

The former is a permit and form which considerably simplifies the customs procedure, particularly for those in transit, while the latter is a system enabling customs control without unloading or reloading goods and can be carried out even during the production itself, Knezic said.

Such a customs procedure requires normal conditions and cannot be implemented yet, Knezic said.

Government Earmarks Bulk of Budget for Defense

LD1212180592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1653 GMT 12 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—According to the Federal Ministry of Information, at its session today the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia endorsed a draft budget law for 1993 amounting to 3,229 billion dinars. The proposed budget is anti-inflationary and will promote economic stabilization, the statement says.

According to the Federal Government's draft law, only one quarter of the envisaged budget funds will be provided from the primary emission. The budget will draw mainly from realistic sources of financing, and additional financial means—loans from the National Bank of Yugoslavia and securities—will be limited as much as possible.

The government has planned the federal budget on the premise that public expenditure next year should not exceed 45 percent of the national product. It was announce that most of the budget—about 60 percent—is earmarked for the regular financing of the Yugoslav Army, while the remainder is aimed at insuring consistent tax, social, and developmental policies.

The Federal Government established that the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro advocate a different concept of financing federal functions, and are more in favor of the existing solutions. The federal government, however, believes that in accordance with the FRY Constitution, it is necessary to provide the financing of all functions of the federation, including its new obligations in the sphere of social welfare, encouraging development, and humanitarian aid.

The Federal Government also endorsed a draft law on financing the program for the transformation of the Yugoslav Army in 1993 and 1994. Financial resources have been envisaged for this.

Commentary Considers Likelihood of Intervention

AU1212210192 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Dec 92

[Commentary by Slavoljub Susic]

[Text] It is certain that the one-sided approach to the general crisis in the former Yugoslavia, which engenders the condemnation of only one of the three sides involved in the interethnic and religious war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, is not the result of a lack of information. The EC observers and UN Protection Forces are located in the trouble spots and there are many plenipotentiary emissaries of humanitarian and other organizations roaming the country. One should not ignore the network of the most modern reconnaissance and information-gathering instruments either. These cover all three dimensions of the war: land, sea, and air space.

We are obviously talking about a predefined attitude toward the Balkans as a very important geopolitical and strategic crossroads, especially toward the former Yugoslav federation that is situated in the center of the Balkans. To the outside world, the Balkans has always been a synonym for a turbulent region in southeast Europe. Disagreements, disputes, and even armed clashes occurred usually because of the mixture of different peoples and religions and the absence of clear ethnic borders.

This is fertile soil for interference by foreign elements, primarily by great powers, according to the well-known principle of divide and rule, regardless of whether we are talking about one state, as is the case with the former Yugoslavia, or the entire Balkan region within the wider European or global policy of influential countries or their alliances.

At their meeting this week, NATO ministers discussed closure of Bosnian air space, air strikes on the Serbian defenders, and deployment of the peacekeepers in the regions where allegedly unrest is threatened, particularly Kosovo, if the United Nations asked them to do so. Of course, this would also require Yugoslavia's consent.

Similar plans were also considered by the participants in the meeting of the EC Council of Ministers. The military option for the former Yugoslavia preoccupied the participants at the meeting in Edinburgh. The ambitious draft scenario of the U.S. military engagement also circulated last week. This scenario would be realized in three stages:

The first would involve control and protection of humanitarian aid corridors. The second would lead to coordinated humanitarian operations with UN forces. These operations would be joined by the Bosnians. The name Bosnians is reserved only for the Muslims and Croats since the third group, the Serbian people, have been declared aggressors on their own territory. So, the Bosnians would be given the task of creating wider security zones that would take care of a large wave of refugees heading for western Europe. The third stage envisages real war against the Serbian forces in Bosnia and as, stated, concentration on the strategic targets in Serbia.

Addressing members of the 1st Army in Belgrade, Academician Dobrica Cosic, president of the republic and supreme commander of the Yugoslavian Army, recently said that we are facing great tribulations. We are threatened so frequently that we are probably the most endangered nation in this part of the world today, he concluded with regret, warning at the same time that those who threaten us should know that we are people who will respond to these threats in line with our best tradition.

Government Denies Allegations by Bozovic, Seselj

AU1112194692 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Report by Radovan Radovanovic on a news conference by Radoje Kontic, deputy prime minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; place and date not given]

[Excerpt] Just before Radoje Kontic, deputy prime minister, gave his regular news conference on current problems that the cabinet is dealing with, Miodrag Perisic, minister for information, told correspondents about the statement by the government that was adopted at today's session.

We have no intention of having a confrontation with anybody, Minister Perisic said, but we believe that it is vitally important that we refute the untrue allegations that have been presented to the public. This government is working according to its constitutional authorization, but it is obvious that gentlemanly silence is more costly than a principled debate in which conceptual differences will be recognized between us and the alliance formed

between Radoman Bozovic [Serbian prime minister] and Vojislav Seselj [serbian Radical Party head]. [sentence as heard]

The government's statement says that the public is the witness to the callous attacks against the prime minister, government, and president of Yugoslavia. Among the allegations circulated, the most ruthless ones are that Panic and the government are inviting foreign troops, that the cabinet is in favor of the sanctions, that the economy is being deliberately destroyed, and that certain ministers were planning bloody riots.

The Federal Government's statement stresses that serious and productive dialogue is not possible in face of such nonsensical allegations by Bozovic and Seselj. However, such an election campaign is seriously endangering the democratic character of the elections, and is trying to justify the collapse of the hitherto unsuccessful policies.

The document that was distributed among the reporters says that the federal government was certainly not inviting foreign troops, but on the contrary was promoting just and honorable peace and the return of Serbia and Montenegro into the international community. The document says that the policy of peace and democratic revival will have more support by the people, and that the number of those who fare well in the sick social conditions will dwindle. [passage omitted]

Serbia

Panic, Opposition Movement Head Latest Poll

LD1312210492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2019 GMT 13 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, Dec. 13 (TANJUG)—Results of a poll by one of the Belgrade agencies published on Sunday [13 December] give advantage to Federal Prime Minister Milan Panic at the election for president of Serbia and to the opposition Democratic Movement (DEPOS) at parliamentary elections.

The question "who would you vote for if the elections for President of Serbia were held today" gave 31 per cent answers of a sample of 1,000 questioned in favour of the current President Slobodan Milosevic, candidate of the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS). Thirty-seven per cent answers favoured U.S. Serbian-born businessman Panic.

The poll was conducted by the 'Partner' agency December 11-13 in all the constituencies in the republic except for the province of Kosovo-Metohija. Results show that the percentage of the 'undecided' falls off as the election day approaches, now amounting to 14.5 per cent.

Milan Paroski, candidate of the "Serbian opposition," received 4.9 per cent answers in his favour. Following him are private banker and independent candidate Jezdimir Vasiljevic (2.9 per cent), candidate of a group of citizens Kapetan Dragan (2.1 per cent), and candidate of the Serbian Fatherland Party Blazo Perovic (1.2 per cent).

The results show that 6.8 per cent voters would not vote for any candidate on the list for President of Serbia.

As for political parties, the poll shows that DEPOS [Democratic Movement of Serbia] is most popular at this time in Serbia (again counting out the ninth constituency of Kosovo-Metohija for which data are lacking).

If elections were held today, DEPOS would receive 23.3 per cent of all votes, according to this poll. Then comes the Socialist Party of Serbia with 19.9 per cent, followed by Serbian Radical Party with 10.5 per cent, and the Democratic Party with 8.9 per cent.

All the other parties would receive an aggregate 8.8 per cent, while 8 per cent would not vote at all.

Characteristically, the undecided account for a very high number, or 20.6 per cent.

The Partner agency assesses that the results of this poll "do not present a precise picture of the feelings of electorate at this time" due to both a sampling method (in the field) and the features of the sample.

Commission Rules Against Refugees' Right to Vote

LD1112214792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1421 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Dec (TANJUG)—Refugees in Serbia do not have the right to vote at the forthcoming elections, the republican Commission for Refugees announced today on the basis of the interpretation of the electoral commission.

Refugees in Serbia, despite their established status and the possession of valid refugee papers, "cannot realize this right because their present situation is defined as temporary residence [boravak] and not permanent residence [prebivaliste]."

Only those who regulated the question of residence in Serbia before 4 May 1992 (six months before the law on the election of people's deputies came into force), or those who possess identity cards, which means the loss of refugee status, have the right to vote, the commission statement says.

Panic Views Election Tour at News Conference

AU1412164892 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Dec 92

[Text] Milan Panic, federal prime minister and candidate for the president of the Republic of Serbia, held a news conference. Throughout Serbia I saw that people want the future, hope, and changes. I am the one who is bringing them this, Panic said. Our journalist noticed

that Milan Panic also apologized for the harsh words he used several days ago. Radovan Radovanovic reports:

The Yugoslav prime minister addressed journalists in the overcrowded international press center in Belgrade with his own impressions of his election tour, which is still in full swing. There are enormous differences between what you see on Serbian Television and what is happening out in the country. I saw faces that believe in the future, faces that are demanding changes. The people have to hear the truth because of the enormous disinformation, Milan Panic said, attacking the media, which in his view are using all kinds of tricks, not caring for the truth at all. A few days ago, I used words that should not have been used. Anger and emotions are not a friend in politics, but I am a human being who loses his nerve sometimes. The Serbs know how to distinguish between tricks and the real thing. So, look at the poll findings, I will win and I will change this system.

Speaking about outside pressure, Panic stressed that Yugoslavia does not need foreign tutors, saying at the same time that the people did not need the authorities that threaten their citizens as minors and immature people either. He said that Serbia must not be anyone's private firm or private state. We must help ourselves with the elections. Only then will our friends in the world appear. They have not disappeared. We have and will always have friends.

Frequently substituting his role of candidate and prime minister, Milan Panic enumerated all his achievements concerning the relaxation of international sanctions. Many problems have been resolved and we all know that wars always end with negotiations. I am trying to protect all Serbs outside Serbia, but in my, Panic's way, with agreements that are beneficial to all.

In response to a question on whether he could drop out of the election race at the last minute because of the unfair conditions, Panic said:

[Begin recording] Panic is not giving up. I am going into these elections to win. I will win, not because these foreign factors or television, or other things are against me, but because the Serbian people want changes. I saw this myself in the eyes of the people. If you come with me, you will see what the Serbian people think and what they want. Whether you believe me or not, they want changes. I am bringing changes. I am bringing them the future. I am offering them peace. They know, all those who are talking to me know that I have invested all my efforts in peace. What I have been building during the day, they have been destroying at night. [end recording]

In response to a journalist's question whether he perhaps thought that his life was in danger in Yugoslavia, as he had allegedly claimed in an in interview to a French paper, Panic did not reply directly. I am only trying my best so that we can all live together in tolerance. We need help from the entire world. We need heating oil for hospitals and schools, medicines and paper, and many things vital for life.

However, it should be clear to all that our national interest is primarily peace, progress, development of the economy, and the return to Europe. I am not going to defend myself from false accusations any longer, Milan Panic said at the end of the news conference. I will win, and you will see that very soon for yourselves.

Panic Tells Rally 'Time Has Come for Changes'

LD1112155992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1454 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] Nis, Dec 11 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic, one of the candidates for Serbian president, on Friday [11 December] told a rally of several thousand in the city of Nis that the time has come for changes which ought to be implemented jointly and democratically.

Panic said he was not about to topple anybody and would only insist on changes. He said he could not stand resorting to any dirty election tricks.

"This is not a fight against a person, but one against the system. One man does not make up a system, and we shall work towards replacing all of them," said Panic.

"Under these conditions it is impossible to be honest, but my desire is to make an honest campaign for everybody to see that one can triumph in Serbia when one is sincere and honest," Panic pointed out.

Later in the day, Panic held talks with entrepreneurs and businessmen in Nis. "During the first-stage economic program, we shall uphold small-sized companies because our objective number one is to do all for enterprising people to open small businesses and for the best of them to succeed in this competition."

On Friday, Panic's schedule in Nis provides for visits to the local mechanical engineering and electronics factories, and to Nis University.

The city leadership of Nis have not extended hospitality to Panic.

Panic Says Belgrade TV 'Committing a Crime'

LD1212144792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1143 GMT 12 Dec 92

[Text] Knjazevac, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—Milan Panic, the federal prime minister and candidate for president of Serbia, arrived in Knjazevac, Timok Krajina this morning with a message to its citizens that the aim of his candidature is not power and that the only reason for it is to introduce changes which would help overcome the difficult situation in the country.

Dwelling on the programs of Serbian television, Panic said: "Serbian television is commiting a crime against our people. Milosevic will never come to talk with me. He is putting dogs on the television so they can bark at me. These are not Serbs, they are the traitors of Serbs."

Panic also visited Nota, the biggest music publishing house in Serbia, and talked with Knjazevac businessmen.

Panic will continue his tour of Timok Krajina by visiting Zajecar, Negotin and Majdanpek.

Article Examines Panic's Candidacy

AU1412105192 Belgrade NEDELJNA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5-6 Dec 92 (supplement) p 1

[Article by Dragan Bisenic: "The Role of the Spine in the Balkan Saloon"]

[Text]—In the referendum in Serbia it had been decided that there were to be no elections, but the election campaign has been in full swing for over a month now. In the Serbian Assembly, the deputies of the Socialist Party of Serbia decided that there were to be 18 constituencies, and yet there are nine. The Serbian Electoral Committee has withheld permission for Milan Panic, the Prime Minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, to run for the office of president of Serbia, on the basis that he does not have established residency on Serbian territory for over one year. Will a mouse turn up and help uproot the turnip, just like in the fairy tale, in this case as well?

Milan Panic does not seem in the least fazed by this decision of the Electoral Committee, and is going around like a presidential candidate, predicting his victory in the elections. At this moment, it is far less important whether Panic will win, than whether he will run at all. And that, in turn, depends on the disposition of the president of Serbia. Should he be retributively disposed, there will be no Panic in the elections. If, on the other hand, he is as indulgent as he was about the elections and the number of constituencies, and as determined for the elections to take place and for all the relevant political powers to take part, then he will allow Panic to be his opposing candidate.

In the same way, Milosevic will be the one to "countersign" Panic's electoral application form, since a retroactive modification of the electoral law in order to accommodate Milan Panic's case could annul all attempts at holding democratic elections, aggravate the political situation in Serbia, and put Serbia and Yugoslavia into a still graver position before the international community.

Today, Serbia is in such a position, that to be its opponent does not cost anybody anything. There are renewed threats of military intervention, armed clashes in Kosovo are being forecast, the right of Serbs to self-determination is being abolished by clear and straightforward decrees in both Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, and plans for the possible restoring of the provinces' status back to a level not unlike the one decreed by the 1974 Constitution, are being reactivated. Even Radoman Bozovic, the Prime Minister of the Serbian Government and a fervent opponent of the policy conducted by the Federal Government, admits that Panic's role was to secure the advent of the newly constituted state into the international community, to change the public image of Serbia and the Serbs, and to try and influence the lifting of the sanctions.

It seems that the "electric hare on roller skates", as Panic is called by some of the presidential candidates, has managed to do this so thoroughly and systematically, that the international factors perceive him as the best and only alternative to Milosevic. A singular political style, replete with a sincerity that affected some of his collocutors in much the same way a boxer's punch might, the model interviewee who is as relaxed in front of the television cameras as if he were in his bathrobe and slippers, is the complete opposite of Slobodan Milosevic, whose seriousness and curtness are seen as pompousness and arrogance.

All this has helped Panic, in spite of the public, good-natured criticism expressed, among others, by the President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Dobrica Cosic ("in his work methods he confuses the concepts of business and state", "wants success at any cost", "this is the reason for some of his weaknesses and errors", but also that "his personal slips, pronounced self-confidence, one-sidedness, and some improvised moves, are flaws that do not call into question" results), to gain enough popularity for opposing Milosevic on his own turf.

Panic is in a position to try his hand at what the present president of Serbia patented in his time. Namely, unlike his competitors, Milosevic made an effort to gain the people's trust, and to establish himself as a symbol and patron to everyone, especially to the Serbs. However, as an experienced party member, Milosevic was aware that he could not expect such a fluid and fickle organism to provide lasting support, so he turned to developing the party organization. At that moment, he was abandoned by the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Serbian Orthodox Church, and the University. At the same time, Panic is counting on the indirect support of these institutions because he believes that the same feeling will prevail among the voters. Can this man, who does not have powerful party machinery behind him, but only scattered support, a handful of surveys showing his convincing advantage over Slobodan Milosevic, and the fervent hopes of the many who believe that the businessman from California can legally beat the president of Serbia in the elections, be stopped by legal articles? The same articles that were as silent as the Sphinx when he became prime minister, but are now, when he is running for president of Serbia, barking like Cerberus?

Vojislav Seselj [Socialist Radical Party head], Panic's most fervent opponent in the Federal Assembly, is of the opinion that legalities should not obstruct the candidacy. He believes that the Federal prime minister should be allowed to run, so that he can be beaten. Other parties have not announced any serious "penalties" for the government, if Panic's candidacy is definitely refused, but they are reserving the right to boycott the elections. This pre-holiday move of the federal prime minister seems to have surprised them, although he had

announced his decision at a meeting with Dragoljub Micunovic and Vuk Draskovic. The following day Draskovic handed in his application form, while Dragoljub Micunovic announced a little later that Draskovic would not be the joint presidential candidate of the opposition if Panic was refused. However, nobody said anything about Panic's being the joint candidate of the opposition, either. Zoran Djindjic, president of the Democratic Party's executive committee, announced that the opposition was not going to link its fate to one individual.

If, after everything, you ask the question of who, what, and how much someone is getting out of all this, you must keep in mind three possible outcomes. The first is that Panic will not run for president of Serbia, but that thanks to a shift in the balance of power in the Federal Assembly, he will remain in office as prime minister. The second option is that he will run for office and, God willing, beat Milosevic, in this way satisfying all the conditions for carrying out constitutional reforms that will abolish the office of president of the republic. The third option is: Milosevic achieves absolute victory, Cosic hands in his resignation, Panic's government is removed from power, and Serbia sinks deeper into an even more obscure blockade on the part of the international community.

President Dobrica Cosic advocates "bowing but not kneeling", "extending a hand in order to save your neck", and on the other side, every evening, the party whose frozen president is Milosevic, announces that "Serbia will not bow". Milosevic has made up his mind to remain flawlessly vertical, while Dobrica Cosic, a man getting on in years, is willing to bow a little. This is not an issue about the trigonometry allowed by physical movement, that is to say, to which angle it is admissible to bend your spine, but about how it would not be wise to die ahead of time.

"Which way is the right way?"

Opposition To Support Panic in Elections

LD1312223392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2151 GMT 13 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, December 13 (TANJUG)—Leader of the Serbian opposition parliamentary Democratic Party (DS) Dragoljub Micunovic, said that the DS would uphold Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic at the presidential elections in Serbia, because of his promise that if he wins, he will urge for constitutional changes and the abolishing of the post of republic president.

Panic is the most serious rival of current Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic at the December 20 elections. Seven candidates are running in the presidential race.

At a special press conference in Belgrade Micunovic expressed his dissatisfaction with the treatment of opposition parties by Serbian Radio-Television, saying that it was working in favour of the ruling Serbian Socialist Party (SPS). As an example, Micunovic said that "Milosevic speaks for 40 minutes on TV and they give me four seconds."

The Serbian Civic Alliance (GSS) which consists of several small non-parliamentary opposition parties demanded of the Serbian Supreme Court on Sunday to annull the decision of the Republican Elections Committee which had rejected all complaints regarding Slobodan Milosevic's candidacy.

The GSS believe that the acceptance of Milosevic's candidacy is a violation of the Serbian Constitution which says that "the president of the republic cannot hold another public function or conduct a professional activity." Milosevic was chosen SPS leader in October, but froze this function until after elections.

The non-parliamentary opposition New Democracy-Movement for Serbia leader Dusan Mihajlovic called on the party's members and followers on Sunday, to vote for Panic.

At his party's campaign meeting in Valjevo (central Serbia), Mihajlovic said he believed that a victory of the Democratic Movement of Serbia (DEPOS), a coalition of several opposition parties, would mean a chance "to stop the moral, economic and civilizational deterioration of Serbia, the Serbian people and the Serbian state."

Non-parliamentary opposition Serbian National Renewal (SNO) leader Slobodan Devic at the SNO campaign meeting in Vranje (southern Serbia) accused the United States of wanting a fratricidal war in Serbia. Devic also expressed fears that the current authorities in Serbia could provoke a civil war if they assessed that they could lose the elections.

Milosevic Addresses Young Socialists Rally

AU1212203492 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1815 GMT 12 Dec 92

[Speech by President Slobodan Milosevic at the conclusion of a campaign rally held by a Socialist Party of Serbia youth group in Belgrade on 12 December—recorded]

[Text] We must hold our destiny firmly in our hands. The future of this country and these people will not be decided by politicians from the great wide world, but by these people themselves. [applause] The future [applause continues] The future [Milosevic repeats himself] of this country is in fact in the hands of you and your generation throughout Serbia. It is in the hands of the workers, farmers, and experts in all fields. Therefore, the future of this country is in safe hands. I trust these hands, Serbia trusts these hands. Long live every one. [applause] Long live Serbia. [applause]

Political Parties Make Pre-Election Pledges

LD1312183892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1748 GMT 13 Dec 92

[Report by Neda Stanisavljevic]

[Text] Belgrade, Dec. 13 (TANJUG)—Ahead of the December 20 elections in Serbia, a large number of political parties invariably promise their internationally-isolated country better days with economic prosperity in peace, but they do differ in the ways they believe this can be achieved.

The parties are trying to attract voters by political rather than economic programs by centering on the country's national interest. Most parties, especially those of the opposition, concentrate on such changes in internal and external policies as would help remove sanctions before a foothold for economic programs is furnished.

The ruling Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS), the presidential candidate of which is the current president of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic, puts to the fore its intention to persevere along its present course. The SPS insists the sanctions are unjust and this is why one must not bow before the international community. As for the economy, the SPS advocates reliance upon one's own capacities.

The SPS program favours "stepwise political, economic and overall social changes, the Serbian people's right to self-determination in the areas of the ex-Yugoslav Republics of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina," and "assistance to the endangered Serbs wherever they are."

DEPOS, or the Democratic Movement of Serbia which is an opposition bloc of several parties and major rival to the SPS, emphasizes "national salvation" rather than dignity.

DEPOS, whose slogan is "vote for the better," in one of its TV spots, shows an elderly man picking through the garbage in a container and the subtitle reads "this is Serbia, too."

The DEPOS program stresses that only Democratic Serbia is "capable of protecting and completely defending our people outside the current borders of Serbia and Montenegro, and of becoming the backbone of new economic, spiritual and state unification of all our lands and krajinas."

Vuk Draskovic, the presidential candidate of DEPOS and leader of the strongest party in this opposition bloc—the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO)—has revoked his candidacy in order to support Milan Panic, another presidential candidate and current prime minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The Serbian Radical Party (SRS) being on the far right is nonetheless close to the ruling Socialist (SPS) Party concerning the slogan "one must not bow" before international pressures and regarding criticism addressed to opposition parties for "betrayal of national interest." The SRS does not have its presidential candidate.

The Democratic Party (DS), which does not have its candidate for president has several candidates for mps who come from offices of Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic.

The DS is said to be a moderate party, with the slogan "let Serbia smile again." Its program highlights a democratic evolution of society, the establishment of true multiparty parliamentary democracy and the rule of law.

The DS favours negotiations to reach peace in former Yugoslav sections. It favours also the realization of the real balance of power in the world and, in this reference, certain concessions to be made. Its leader Dragoljub Micunovic announces that "changes will not readily bring about affluence to one and all, but there won't be any affluence without changes."

Unlike other opposition parties which openly or tacitly uphold Panic and which do not have their presidential candidates, the National Party (NS) has run its President Milan Paroski as presidential candidate. Paroski says that his rival Panic is "a stand-by candidate" of the ruling Socialists (SPS).

The NS (National Party), the Serbian Democratic Party of Serbia (SDSS) and the Royalist Bloc (RB) have set up the coalition "Serbian opposition" (S.O.) which strives for a United Kingdom of Serbia. The coalition also favours granting the refugee status to those large numbers of ethnic Albanians now in Kosovo (who had defected Enver Hoxha's Albania) before their return to Albania.

The Serbian National Renewal (SNO) also favours monarchy, but this is the sole point it has in common with the S.O. (Serbian opposition).

The League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia (SK-PJ) strives for Yugoslavia within its former borders. It says that nobody else but the Yugoslavs can stop the war the "Yugoslavs declared on themselves."

Bozovic Stresses Wish To Preserve State

LD1312223892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1951 GMT 13 Dec 92

[Text] Vrsac, December 13 (TANJUG)—Serbian Prime Minister Radoman Bozovic said on Sunday [13 December] that the ruling Serbian Socialist Party (SPS) wished to preserve the state and defend the vital interests of the Serbian people. Bozovic is a SPS candidate for parliamentary deputy at the early elections on December 20.

At the SPS campaign meeting in Vrsac (a town in the Serbian province of Vojvodina) Bozovic said that Serbia must not forget the Serbian people in the territories of the former Yugoslavia. Bozovic added that because of this concern, Serbia is being unjustly accused of being

the aggressor in the civil war raging in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

A civil, ethnic and religious war has been raging for over eight months between local Moslems, Serbs (Orthodox) and Croats (Catholics) because of differences over the republic's future organization.

Since May 19, there are no Yugoslav Army troops in Bosnia-Hercegovina territory, and this has been confirmed by United Nations reports. At the same time, at least 60,000 troops of the Croatian Army are fighting on the side of the Bosnian Croats, as well as several thousand mercenaries, mostly mojahedin from Islamic countries who are fighting on the Moslem side.

Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic also attended the meeting in Vrsac and pointed to the interference of foreign factors in Serbia's and Yugoslavia's internal affairs, adding that this was "far from the principle of democracy."

"It is a notorious lie that U.N. sanctions were introduced against the regimes in Serbia and Montenegro, and not against the people," said Jovanovic. He added that a "U.S. State Department representative had recently said decidedly, that the sanctions were a punishment of the Serbian people because they would not bow before foreign pressures and agree to stands enforced on them."

On May 30 the U.N. introduced comprehensive sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, i.e. against its Republics Serbia and Montenegro for their alleged involvement in the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Report on Milosevic-Panic Election Race

LD1212144692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1340 GMT 12 Dec 92

[Report by Nevena Marcic]

[Text] Belgrade, December 12 (TANJUG)—A week before the first early federal and republican elections in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on December 20, the attention of the Yugoslav public is increasingly focusing on the presidential race in Serbia.

Local and world experts, and results of public opinion polls conducted in Serbia indicate that current Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic are the main candidates for Serbian president.

A careful analysis of reports in the Serbian media, which give much coverage to Milosevic's and Panic's election campaigns, evaluating their characters and style of dress, could also confirm such estimates.

The hectic election activities of Milosevic and Panic have cast a shadow over the other five presidential candidates, whose television messages say very little about their presidential programs.

The five other candidates are Serbian businessman Jezdimir Vasiljevic, professional pilot Dragan Vasiljkovic, lawyer Miroslav Milanovic from the eastern Serbian city of Nis, leader of the parliamentary opposition People's Party Milan Paroski, and candidate of the extra-parliamentary opposition Democratic Fatherland Coalition Blazo Perovic.

Nevertheless, the "always serious" Milosevic and the "ever smiling" Panic do not rely on the influence of the mass media on the electorate, but travel all over Serbia, telling the people about their political beliefs. The contents of their messages to the seven-million strong electorate differ considerably.

Milosevic insists on national pride, saying that one should not bend before the international community which has "imposed unjust sanctions" against the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Montenegro because of their alleged involvement in the civil war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Panic says that he is ready to negotiate with anyone for the sake of peace and the soonest possible lifting of the sanctions, which he also considers unjust. Numerous public opinion polls conducted in Serbia, whose results have appeared in the press these days, indicate that the race between Milosevic and Panic will be very close.

Recently published results of a poll conducted by the Institute for Social Sciences and Center for Political Studies of Belgrade show that 43.4 percent of the 1,500 pollees in Serbia support Panic, 40.3 percent are in favor of Milosevic, while 16.3 percent are not for either. The results of this research also show that Panic is favored mostly by people under 35 years of age, while Milosevic is more popular with people over 55.

The source said that Panic has more followers among urban dwellers and people with a higher degree of education, while Milosevic is more popular with the rural population and people with less education. It is therefore not possible to predict the outcome of the forthcoming presidential elections in Serbia. The citizens of Serbia will have their final say on December 20.

Opposition's Failure To Unite Viewed

AU1112212192 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Dec 92 p 7

[Report by Dj. M.: "Why the Opposition Didn't Unite"]

[Text]—All this resembles a divorce that took place while we were still in the church. This is what Zoran Djindjic [president of Democratic Party's executive committee] said, without sounding resigned, in his explanation as to why the opposition parties did not unite before the coming elections.

However, not all opposition party politicians take the same view of this. In fact, most of them cannot even

agree on what the real effect of the former initiatives to form a large opposition coalition is.

While the Democratic Party comments on everything with an emphasis on pragmatism, Nebojsa Popov from the Citizen's Alliance states emotionally that the opposition, as far as its unification and joint electoral participation are concerned, is today further away from this concept than it was at the very start of negotiations about the forming of the Democratic Coalition [DEKO] union.

Independent Participation in Elections

At the time, the Citizen's Alliance was acting as the intermediary in negotiations about uniting to fight the election campaign as a joint opposition grouping. The first concept involved just one single electoral list. The parties making up the Citizen's Alliance took it upon themselves to establish contact between the opposition parties and groups, and between individuals from the federal leadership.

Today, despite all these contacts and efforts, everyone is nonetheless participating independently, and with the danger that in their effort to win over as many voters as possible they just might cross swords and damage their respective interests, Nebojsa Popov says that he does not want to "look for reasons for the failure of a significant idea in others".

"The failure to form a coalition was due to our national, ideological, and other passions, and because very few of the local political protagonists are ready to create and express a lasting personal or national interest", claims Popov.

"For too long we have been in turmoil, where we cannot seem to make out clearly which direction to take," Popov says, adding that a great number of participants in the political game in Serbia, in the ruling party as well as in the opposition, and among individuals who want mandarin power rather than to be a member of some party, and have succumbed to these circumstances.

In Popov's opinion, this is why the coming elections will be a test of public opinion and the citizens' disposition regarding "the direction that has to be taken in order to get out of the present turmoil". This direction is not clearly defined, especially with regard to the instruments to be used in order to overcome the crisis—whether war or some other instrument.

"The idea of a victorious coalition has been abandoned, and everyone has agreed to a combination that can achieve less than the goals set earlier", says Popov.

Inadequate Preparations

Ivan Kovacevic, spokesman for the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO], disclosed to us his personal opinion as to why the desired unified electoral list of the opposition "would not have functioned very well". The optimal solution would have been for the opposition to turn up for the electoral duel "with two lists comprised of the center left and the Democratic Movement of Serbia [DEPOS]". However, it seems that conditions at the moment are not ripe for such a unification. Nevertheless, Kovacevic believes that in the long term, an initiative for the unification of the opposition has great value. Kovacevic added that the combining of these forces is necessary and inevitable.

Zoran Djindjic believes that the idea of forming a democratic coalition fell through because the preparations for it were not serious enough. Parties and individuals participated in the negotiations for political unification without reaching any kind of decision beforehand, not even on whether to participate in the elections at all, or under what conditions.

"The negotiations regarding the forming of DEKO [Democratic Coalition] were the result of a benign optimism that Dobrica Cosic and Milan Panic would more firmly stand behind the opposition. Had this happened, the DEKO idea would have been realized. Things fell through the moment it was realized that the opposition needed to unite first in order to win over the "federal duo", which means that the two of them do not intend to take on the role of uniter".

"When it was realized that there was no chance of achieving the maximal goal, the minimal one was called into question", says Zoran Djindjic, and adds that he is unable to comment on the decisions of President Cosic and Prime Minister Panic, but that as far as the opposition is concerned, it could have aligned itself into two blocs with two lists, thereby encompassing all the other political groups. Djindjic says that this will surely cost the opposition about five to eight percent of votes, although it is possible to mend everything in the republic elections.

The person with the most optimism, as far as the unhappy outcome of the negotiations is concerned, is Cedomir Mirkovic, the president of the Social Democratic Party. According to him, the initiative to form DEKO was very important, because it laid the foundations for future attempts to unite the democratic political groups.

"I do not agree with the conclusion that this attempt was a total failure, because the possibility remains for some of the deals to be realized, both before and after the elections", says Mirkovic and adds that for now it is enough that a joint electoral advertising campaign is to be undertaken, along with the mutual acceptance of the rules of electoral fair-play. If, by any chance, the results of the elections are also good, it will be easier to talk about a joint coalition government of experts.

Mirkovic says that, after all, "it is clear that politics have a sense of reality that is sometimes stronger than good ideas." This reality weaves its way through the logic of party ambitions, the real or assumed power of certain parties, "but finally also through the area of personal vanities and love of power that seem to be an inevitable part of Serbia's fate," said Mirkovic in conclusion.

U.S. Accused of Attempting To Influence Election

LD1312195192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1906 GMT 13 Dec 92

[Report by Dejan Lukic]

[Text] Washington, December 13 (TANJUG)—The United States of America opted on Sunday [13 December] to directly and officially influence the outcome of the December 20 elections in Serbia, as seen in a statement by Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger who said, that if the Serbian people cared about future relations with the U.S. and other Western democracies, they must vote for a change on December 20.

In an interview to THE NEW YORK TIMES on Sunday, Eagleburger said that U.S. sympathies lay with those opposing Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. Eagleburger said that the U.S. Government's stand towards Milosevic was well known and there was no need to repeat it. The way the Serbian people would vote was their affair, but they would have to bear the consequences alone, said Eagleburger.

Eagleburger who served in Yugoslavia as a young diplomat and U.S. ambassador in the 1980's, said that there would be changes in Serbia regardless of who won the elections. He added that the Serbian people must decide to what measure they cared for the U.S. and Western democracies, and to assess who was offering the best chances for a change in these relations.

Eagleburger concluded that thanks to the current Serbian leadership's policies, relations with the U.S. and the whole of the civilized world had deteriorated drastically. Eagleburger underscored that no one in the U.S. was in controversy with the Serbian people, but that there was a fundamental controversy with the policy followed by the Serbian leadership.

Eagleburger underlined that the December 20 elections at all levels in Yugoslavia, must be clean and regular and open to all parties, and with an open approach to the media. He added, however, that disturbing information was reaching Washington.

The democratic world will raise the question of freedom of choice in the event that certain practices are continued, ones I have been informed of...the people of Serbia will decide on their leader, but none will be adequate if the elections are irregular, said Eagleburger.

Asked about accusations that Yugoslav prime minister and candidate for Serbian president, U.S. businessman of Serbian descent Milan Panic was a U.S. agent, Eagleburger said that was a total untruth and that Panic was not a U.S. agent. Milosevic and Panic have five more rivals in the Serbian presidential elections race. Democratic Congressman Lee Hamilton, who will be president of the House of Representatives Foreign Policy Committee, has said that Washington must firmly support Panic's candidacy, said THE NEW YORK TIMES. The U.S. must give Panic all he needs for a successful campaign, said Hamilton.

Milosevic Discusses Greek Role in Balkan Conflict

AU1112213592 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] Greek state television broadcast tonight, as we have just said, an interview with Slobodan Milosevic, president of Serbia. President Milosevic answered questions asked by (Ert Nikos Pelpas), editor of Greek state television. Here is that interview:

[Pelpas] Mr. President, the Greek public fears that Kosovo might become a new war zone, that is, the spark that will set the whole of the Balkans on fire. What should Serbia do to prevent that? Can you comment on the mediating role that the Greek Government is planning to play? Will it be positive?

[Milosevic] I do not believe that the Greek Government could play a negative role when it comes to Serbian interests. As for Kosovo becoming a war zone, the enemies of our country and our people would love it if the war escalated, if it spread to Kosovo. However, I think that anyone who shows such aspirations is risking a lot, because we are giving our country to no one. I believe that because of that, no one will even think about meddling in such dirty affairs, particularly as there is no question about the national and minority rights of any citizen of Serbia, including the Albanians, who are citizens with equal rights of Serbia.

This state is giving them full guarantees of national, human, and minority rights in accordance with the highest standards of the CSCE. So everything connected with the aspirations of the enemies of this country, to take away part of its territory, to append it to another country, of course is unacceptable, at least as far as Serbia goes. The most important thing is that no one can achieve that, regardless of who stands behind such aspirations. That is why I hope that we will preserve peace with common sense and respect for national and human and other rights of all citizens of Serbia.

[Pelpas] It is obvious that some new winds are blowing through the Balkans, and I would say dangerous winds. Military alliances are being formed; there are threats. Where is Serbia in all this? Where is Greece? What is to be done?

[Milosevic] Serbia and Greece should support their friendship and they should defend their interests. The defense of these interests is not at the cost of any other nation. It is not at the cost of any other country. The defense of one's own interests is the legitimate right of every nation, of every country. We hope that nobody will even dream of endangering our state and national interests. But if it does occur to anyone, we are capable of defending our state and national interests.

[Pelpas] What would the recognition of the Republic of Skopje [as heard] mean without the consent of Greece? Would that lead to the destabilization of the Balkans?

[Milosevic] I think that the recognition of the Republic of Skopje without the consent of Greece would be very dangerous. The danger of imperiling the territorial integrity of your country lies in the continuity and consequences of such recognition. That is why we are showing such understanding for your views, taking into account the fact that you have no territorial pretensions regarding your neighbors, but that you want to be certain that the territorial integrity of Greece and the Greek people will be preserved.

I hope that the international community will not make any moves that would be at the expense of the Greek nation, and to the advantage of some unjust aspirations. We are against such injustice.

[Pelpas] Some Western circles are trying to create the impression that the elections in Serbia will not be democratic. Can you promise that they will be held in a democratic atmosphere?

[Milosevic] Absolutely. The elections two years ago were completely democratic. After all, the hordes of observers from many countries could not dispute one single detail in the elections two years ago. We showed complete cooperation with the demands for premature elections by the mere fact that we accepted that they should be held. We have nothing to fear. If people care about their independence, their freedom, their state, and their national interests, who can look after them better than the people themselves? That is why we want the elections to be free and democratic because those are the only circumstances in which the people can express their will. Their will cannot be against their interests but in their interests. That is certain.

[Pelpas] How do you see the estimates of these circles I just mentioned that if you win the elections there will be civil war in Serbia, and there will even be military intervention against the southern parts of Serbia?

[Milosevic] That is one example of saying one thing and doing another, or saying one thing and wanting another. Who can call himself a democrat and at the same time exert pressure on democratic elections? I should have thought that every nation has the right to express its will in a democratic way. Who can call himself a democrat and at the same time exert pressure on the will of the people to be in accordance with his interests and not with the interests of the people?

[Pelpas] Thank you, Mr. President.

[Milosevic] Thank you.

Bozovic Says Sanctions Aimed At Causing Unrest

LD1212141992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1235 GMT 12 Dec 92

[Text] Novi Sad, Dec 11 (TANJUG)—Serbian Premier Radoman Bozovic has said in an interview with the Novi Sad daily DNEVNIK that the objective of the international blockade was to provoke conflicts within Serbia.

Bozovic also said that the reason for the introduction of sanctions—Serbia's alleged aggression in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina—"has become ridiculous even to those who gave this explanation."

A civil, ethnic and religious war broke out in Bosnia-Hercegovina eight months ago between Bosnian Serbs, on one side, and local Moslems and Croats, on the other, who are assisted by the Republic of Croatia's regular Army and foreign mercenaries, mostly mojahedin from Islamic countries.

The Yugoslav armed forces withdrew from Bosnia-Hercegovina immediately after it received international recognition, while at least 60,000 regular troops of the neighbouring Republic of Croatia are fighting there. The international community, however, did not impose any sanctions against Croatia.

Bozovic said that Federal Prime Minister Milan Panic and his ministers explained that so-called democratization in Serbia was a requisite for the lifting of the sanctions, which, according to Bozovic, practically means that "Serbia's authorities should be toppled and Serbia's fate be placed in the hands of others."

Bozovic also said that Panic's official cabinet existed only formally and that he had his own parallel cabinet including a dozen of foreign nationals, headed by John Scanlan, former U.S. ambassador in Belgrade.

The Serbian premier believes that the federal government had distanced itself completely from Yugoslav parliament, a body that controls the government in every democratic country.

According to Bozovic, the aim of the federal government and Prime Minister Panic is "to place Serbia and Yugoslavia under the direct tutelage of some foreign countries."

Bozovic described Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic as a man of exceptional education and experience as a businessman and banker, a man who knows how to link the national state strategy with pragmatic tasks and policy successfully and skillfully at a time when the fate of Serbia, Yugoslavia and the entire Serbian people is being decided.

Milosevic and Panic are believed to be the main presidential candidates at the republican elections scheduled for December 20.

Serbian-born U.S. businessmen Milan Panic was appointed Yugoslav prime minister last July.

Bozovic Against Sending Foreign Troops to Kosovo

AU1112125792 Paris AFP in English 1200 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Excerpt] Belgrade, Dec 11 (AFP)—Serbian Prime Minister Radoman Bozovic said he was against foreign troops being deployed in the southern province of Kosovo, the Belgrade daily BORBA reported on Friday [11 December].

Bozovic's statement follows a declaration Thursday in Brussels by the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) that it was prepared to meet a United Nations request for the deployment of troops in this southern Serbian region where the population is chiefly Albanian.

The Serbian prime minister accused the rump Yugoslav government headed by Milan Panic of seeking to bring foreign troops into Kosovo.

"The Federal Government has no authority to bring foreign troops into Serbia where peace and stability reign," he added. [passage omitted]

Military Commentator Assesses Kosovo Situation

AU1312204592 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1815 GMT 13 Dec 92

[Interview with military commentator Milovan Drecun by announcer Lidija Duvancic—live]

[Text] [Duvancic] Colleague Drecun, reports on attacks on the police, Army, and military facilities in Kosovo are becoming increasingly frequent. What is in fact happening there? Have the separatists changed their tactics? This has not been happening so far, at least not in these proportions.

[Drecun] In its attempts to overthrow authorities in Serbia, to destabilize, that is to say, disturb the territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the foreign elements, led by the United States, are trying to shift the focus of conflict from Bosnia-Hercegovina to Serbia, to Kosovo and Sandzak. You were right when you said that the separatists have changed their tactics somewhat. They are the greatest support for the foreign elements in destabilizing Serbia.

At the end of last month, a meeting of separatists from Kosovo was held in western Macedonia, including their leaders and the leaders of extremists from the ranks of the Macedonian Albanians. They reached an agreement on further methods for struggle, but decided that if an armed uprising is to take place, it should take place in western Macedonia. All this would be supported with terrorist actions in Kosovo and Metohija.

[Duvancic] Just one short question. From where are arms arriving in Kosovo?

[Drecun] Mainly from Albania. The biggest supplier is Turkey. The main channel leads from Kukes toward Prizren and Djakovica. Three shipments from Turkey were recently intercepted. They were secured by Jusuf Karakusi and contained automatic weapons. The shipments were stopped in Macedonia because of misunderstandings with the Macedonian authorities. The weapons shipments were supposed to arrive in Kacanik.

I would say that Albania has played the key role in these terrorist actions that are being announced and increased prior to the elections. Albanians from Kosovo, former members of the Yugoslav People's Army and the Ministry of Internal Affairs for terrorist actions, are trained in Albanian bases in Peshkopi, Kukes, and Elbasan. Several battalions were formed in the Albanian Armed Forces, one being a unit of saboteurs deployed on the border with Yugoslavia.

[Duvancic] This is happening before the elections? What about the ethnic Albanians? Will they take part in the elections? According to what we know now, they will not.

[Drecun] According to the latest information, they have decided not to take part in the elections, but the final decision will be made two or three days before the elections. It is claimed that if they take part in the elections they would recognize Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which they do not want to do.

[Duvancic] Thank you, colleague Drecun.

Serbs From Croatia Hold Rally in Belgrade

AU1312165392 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 13 Dec 92

[Excerpt] Serbs in Krajinas in Their Struggle for Self-Determination; This is the theme of the meeting that was held in Sava Center in Belgrade today by the organization of the Association of Serbs from Croatia and the Republic of Serbian Krajina. Miroslav Pisarevic reports:

Serbs are not to be blamed for the war and victims in Croatia, but the international community and Tudjman's [Croatian president] authorities who excluded the Serbian people from the Constitution, set up paramilitary formations, and expelled 300,000 Serbs from Croatia. The Croatian police and armed members of the Croatian Democratic Community attacked Serbs in Plitvice, Pakrac, Borovo Selo, Tenja, Mirkovici, and other places in Serbian Krajina. The world must know this, as well as many politicians in Serbia who are prepared to renounce the three million Serbs outside Serbia and parts of their state in the current struggle for power. This was stated by Mihajlo Vucinic, head of the association. He also said the following:

[Begin recording] We will oppose all governments in Serbia and Yugoslavia and all parties and individuals who ignore the interests of the Serbian people outside the

Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [applause], all who do not consistently follow the proclaimed principles and obligations as established by the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia and the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and all who do not follow the positions adopted in the declaration of the Assembly of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The essence of these demands is the right of the Serbian people to self-determination. [applause] [end recording]

In her speech, Radmila Milentijevic [former federal minister without portfolio] stressed that the fate of the Serbian people outside Serbia cannot be decided at international peace conferences without the legal representatives of the new Serbian states, the Republic of Serbian Krajina and the Serbian Republic [of Bosnia-Hercegovina]. [passage omitted]

Zemun Rally Supports Sarajevo Residents

AU1312181292 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 13 Dec 92

[Excerpts] A meeting of solidarity with the residents of Sarajevo was held in front of the St. Archangel Gavrilo Monastery in Zemun organized by the humanitarian aid committee of the Serbian Orthodox Church. The participants hope that the authorities in Sarajevo either allow humanitarian aid to enter the city or allow people to leave town in order to save themselves from the harshness of the forthcoming winter. Vladimir Nikolic reports:

[Nikolic] The citizens were addressed first by Zagreb-Ljubljana Metropolitan Jovan. Speaking on the role of the international community and Europe in the tragedy that has befallen the people in this region, Jovan said the following:

[Begin recording] The principle of truth and justice was not respected. Crude political interests were at play. The satanization of Serbs and the condemnation of Serbs as the only culprits and aggressors were found to be acceptable when all arguments were pointing in the opposite direction. [end recording]

Appealing to all those responsible for contributing to peace, Jovan called for the release of the imprisoned and the return of dignity to the people.

[Begin Jovan recording] We demand that humanitarian aid be delivered freely and without hindrance to everyone in Sarajevo. We demand the safe distribution of humanitarian aid to all, regardless of religious and national affiliation. We demand the removal of the sanctions and embargo, because they harm innocent and weak people most. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Belgrade Mufti Hamdija Jusuf Spahic explained why he agreed to serve in Belgrade:

[Begin recording] I set off with the aim of building bridges of friendship with brotherly Serbian people. [applause] I also decided to accept the job because I want us to build bridges of friendship over the Drina, to bring people closer together, and to do what is good and useful for people of all religions. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Macedonia

President Gligorov Sees Serbia as Greatest Threat

LD1312200192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1902 GMT 13 Dec 92

[Text] Rome, Dec. 13 (TANJUG)—President of Macedonia Kiro Gligorov has said that the biggest threat to this ex-Yugoslav republic and to peace in the Balkans "is coming from the Serbs" or from Serbia.

In his interview in Sunday's CORRIERE DELLA SERA, Gligorov, who had been ranking leader in the Communist regime of the former Yugoslavia for 40 years, does not set forth one argument why the biggest threat to his country allegedly comes from Serbia.

Serbia's leadership has reiterated clearly it has no territorial claims on ex-Yugoslav republics, Macedonia included. Macedonia, which also decided to secede following in the footsteps of Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, has not been recognized by the international community because of Greece's strong opposition.

In his very conciliatory reference to Greece, Gligorov said Macedonians, being Christians, are "natural friends" of Greece. He stressed he could not understand fears of a ten-million country as against two-million Macedonia. Greece maintains that the name "Macedonia" relates only to Greek history. It does not agree that the ex-Yugoslav republic be recognized under this name. Athens assesses that this question can provoke territorial disputes, because a region called Macedonia also exists in northern Greece.

Gligorov denied any involvement of Turkey in the "play" around Macedonia, saying he did not see "why Turkey would want to infiltrate into a predominantly Christian-populated country."

He said that the alleged Bulgarian offer of 200 million dollars worth of munitions to Macedonia had been fabricated for Bulgaria's internal demand. This offer was allegedly one of the reasons why the Bulgarian Government had to resign.

Gligorov Says Conditions For Recognition Met

LD1112212192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2026 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] Skopje, 11 December (TANJUG)—Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov sent a letter today to participants in the Edinburgh summit calling on leaders of the EC states to recognize the sovereignty of the Macedonian state.

State television reports the letter states Macedonia has fulfilled all demands set by the EC as a condition for recognition.

During the last 11 months, the letter says among other things, Macedonia has undertaken a number of political steps to assure the international community it is committed to peace and coexistence in the Balkans.

Kosovo

Troops Reportedly Kill Albanian Near Border

AU1112212092 Paris AFP in English 2044 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] Pristina, Yugoslavia, Dec 11 (AFP)—Yugoslav troops killed an Albanian national Friday [11 December] in an unexplained incident on the Yugoslav side of the Albanian-Yugoslav frontier, opposition groups in the Kosovo capital Pristina said.

The victim's body has been returned to Albania, the local human rights organisation said.

The victim was not identified, and the incident has not been reported by federal military authorities in the mainly Albanian-inhabited province.

Serbs 'Still Not Publishing' BUJKU

AU1112193692 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] The Serbian violating organs of the Rilindja Publishing House are still not publishing BUJKU, the only newspaper in Kosovo. BUJKU has not been published for four days now under the pretext that there is no newsprint. The Serbian newspaper JEDENS VOI [as heard] of Pristina, however, is being published every day, even with additional leaflets.

Rugova Says Situation 'Very Grave'

AU1212173292 Tirana ATA in English 1012 GMT 12 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 12 (ATA)—ATA's coworker in Pristina, Behlul Jashari writes:

In his press conference held yesterday in Pristina, the president of the Republic of Kosovo, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, described the situation in Kosovo as very grave. Since the beginning he said that the two Albanians killed in a week in Pristina and Vushtri, and some others wounded in Sllatine and other places add to the tension in Kosovo. All these make you realize that the worst thing is likely to happen in Kosovo, that someone really wishes that some wide scale conflict takes place here.

In continuation Dr. Rugova said: "We have also officially addressed to the international institutions that peace keeping forces be sent to Kosovo so that Bosnia and Croatia be not repeated. Besides this, an ultimatum should be sent to Serbia that if it continues to do so it will suffer more severe blockades and isolation of the current Serb policy. An end should be put once and for all to these military machineries which threaten both Kosovo and the South."

Kosovo continues to be at the centre of the attention of the international institutions and international public opinion fearing the tragedy to take place in Kosovo and the whole of the region, the president of the Republic of Kosovo said. One among the numerous questions by the reporters was how does Dr. Rugova comment the concentration of the Albanian armed forces in the border with the Montenegro, Kosovo, and Macedonia. President Rugova responded: "This is a movement of forces on the albanian side. I do not believe Albania is preparing for something bad. But, in case the worst thing takes place in Kosovo, Albania, too, has the right to be concerned about us. There is nothing bad in all this."

The president of the Republic of Kosovo also spoke of the information darkness for the Albanians in Kosovo, as no Albanian newspaper appeared for several days. This further aggravates the situation and is a special form of pressure on the Albanians, Dr. Rugova said. He appealed to the various agencies and world radio-stations to inform as much as possible on the situation in Kosovo.

Vojvodina

Jovanovic, Bozovic Address Socialist Rally

AU1312181892 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 13 Dec 92

[Text] At its promotion rally at the Sterija Theater in Vrsac, the Socialist Party of Serbia today presented its candidates for federal and republic deputy and committee members.

Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic began his speech by saying that the latest statement by the EC ministers represents direct interference in elections in our country, and that the threats in the form of an open appeal to the Serbian people are proof that the sanctions were introduced against the Serbian people.

Serbian Prime Minister Radoman Bozovic spoke about the damage Serbia has suffered as a result of the behavior of the Federal Government. He stressed that this was the last Federal Government to fight for its survival by promoting other countries' interests.

[Begin recording] ...via the Federal Government of Yugoslavia fomenting the alleged talks on the settlement of the Kosovo-Metohija problem. Talks about, can you imagine, the settlement of the Vojvodina problem, as if this problem existed, in order to organize a separatist movement in Kosovo, the extremists among the Muslim people, the extremists among the Hungarian minority in Vojvodina. The idea is not to participate in the democratic structure of authority in Serbia and Yugoslavia, but to get together in order to help form a government that would essentially try to govern Serbia against its national and state interests. [end recording]